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STUDIES IN THEOLOGY SERIES

WEST AND EAST

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM AND THE NATURALIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE ORIENT IN THE XIXTH CENTURY

BEING THE DALE LECTURES, OXFORD, 1913

BY

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TO MY CHILDREN

LE TRONCHET, CANTON VAUD
SWITZERLAND
August 1st, 1914

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Mansfield College, through its Principal, has honoured me with the invitation to deliver the Dale lectures. It is fitting that in these opening words I should pay tribute to the eminent preacher and publicist, friend and counsellor of this College, whose name the lectureship bears, the late Reverend Robert W. Dale, D.D. I desire also to express my veneration for the illustrious former Principal of this College, the Reverend Andrew M. Fairbairn, D.D. At his request I lectured at Mansfield twenty years ago. Through him I first learned to know Oxford more intimately. To him I owe an intellectual and spiritual debt which no words can measure and no acts repay.

PREFACE

THESE lectures were delivered in October and November 1913. Their preparation for the press was completed in the very days of the outbreak of the war, August 1914. The question was then raised whether the publication might not with advantage be deferred. The manuscript was however sent to the publisher in November 1915. Only slightest changes had been made in the text in view of the changed circumstances. No changes have been made since that date. By consent of all concerned it was agreed to postpone the issuing of the book until after the war. As I sat down this week to read the proofs I had at the first the gravest misgivings. As I read I had the sense that, in so far as the description given in these pages was correct, I had finished a chapter in world history. What I had not realized while writing it was that the stage of progress which I had sought to delineate was complete. The Europe we loved and to every nation of which we owe incalculable debt seemed to have disappeared. Many of the principles of action which we had discussed appeared for the time at least discredited. Maxims and practices which we had thought abandoned had again emerged. Asia and Africa had entered upon the ruinous conflict of Europeans among themselves.

Yet no issue of the war is more evident than this. The movement of which these lectures treat will go on. It will go on far more swiftly than we had surmised, in a manner far different from that we had supposed and to conclusions which not the wisest of us can forecast. If that is true which we have written concerning the principles of our movement as these emerged in the stages which are past, this truth will have yet wider application when we have entered upon the new phases which the war has certainly prepared. The conditions of the new relations of West

and East will be determined not merely by the end of the war or by the terms of peace, but by the experience of all the nations under those terms in the years which are to come. The principles may perhaps best be studied against the background of a past which, although it was but five years ago our vivid present, has now forever passed away.

The publisher has kindly permitted me to state in briefest fashion some of the principles to the elaboration of which this book is devoted in the introduction to a new work, "The Spread of Christianity in the Modern Era," the Chicago University Press, 1919. That book deals with the history of the movement of which this book has sought to set forth the ruling ideas. It is hoped that the two books may supplement the one the other.

I may allow myself one remark touching the substance of this book. There had stood in Lecture VI certain observations attempting forecast of the future of Western education in the East. These were appended to a paragraph devoted to the institutions in the former Ottoman Empire. In no country had such broad foundations been laid. In no country have all prophecies now been rendered so worthless. The best of those who had received this education, and who were relied upon to extend and perpetuate it, have been massacred. The naturalization of this education has almost to begin over again. In no country will reasoned forecast be so difficult, until, at least, the Powers shall have given some intimation as to the relation of the races one to another and thus created some assurance that the monstrous thing which happened early in the war shall not occur again.

The Authors' Club,
London, *June 18th*, 1919.

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INTRODUCTION

Let me seek in a few words to define my task. I have chosen for my theme an aspect of modern history in which I have long been interested. To this interest have contributed not merely reading and the privilege of teaching in my university, but also travel and administrative responsibility. My description must of necessity be in bold outline. Of many phases of the subject I can but offer illustrations. The movement which I would describe has gathered momentum for a century and a quarter. It has resulted in the establishment of a decisive influence of Christendom, more particularly of Europe, over the whole world. This influence is not confined to those portions of the earth in which European arms hold sway. It is not limited to the area of the domination of European trade. Everywhere it is manifest in the spread of characteristic elements of a civilization, in the prevalence of ideas and the impulse of a spirit, which historically had their development in the west of Europe.

The eastern nations were formerly hostile to these ideas. They resisted the application of western principles. They resented the encroachment of an alien civilization. They are now for the most part hospitable to these same impulses. This is not because extension of European colonial or commercial empire is viewed by orientals with less aversion than in former years. On the contrary, the acceptance of western standards on the part of certain eastern nations, the resolute transformation of their life in conformity with those standards, has been the means chosen to prevent the further extension of European sway. The Japanese army and navy and mercantile marine, the growth of Japanese manufacturing industries, illustrate this truth. The political transformation and educational reforms recently inaugurated in China have the same interpretation. There has been in the conservative East a surprising recognition of the value for all

humanity of certain institutions and aptitudes which have been evolved mainly in the West. An unthinking assumption of superiority has retarded in the West a parallel recognition of the universal value of certain characteristic achievements of the East. The present failure of traditional methods, on the part of some of the nations of the West, in dealing with questions of the East, is due in a measure to the immobility of the West. It is due to a lack of comprehension of the changes which are swiftly taking place in the East. One who knows the East is impressed by its present hospitality to that which is foreign. He is none the less aware that there has been an immense resurgence of national and racial feeling everywhere in the East. It is this feeling which checks the further expansion of European colonial empires and in some places menaces those empires which exist. At the same time the actual check thus administered by the East to the West has come about largely through the prevalence in the East of ideas and impulses which had their origin in the West. The outward mastery which is to-day exercised in portions of the East by nations of the West is not now in all cases an aid to the advance of the inner and spiritual elements of our civilization. In some instances it appears to be a hindrance. The pursuit of an external mastery in arms or commerce was once, in point of fact, the method of opening large portions of the globe to the intellectual and moral elements of European civilization. This external mastery may in time become a force retarding the development of those same inner and spiritual elements of our civilization in the East.

The world is being shaped in extraordinary fashion to a unity. This is true not merely in things superficial, but apparently also in the deepest elements of life. It is clear however that this unity is not to be merely the prevalence everywhere of the form of civilization which we in the West have known. It will not consist in uniformity of government administration or of methods of trade. It will not come about through mere imitation of our social organization, adoption of our culture or acceptance of our religion. It will not be brought to pass through the suppression of deeper elements in the life of any of the nations. It will not ignore

facts which have been significant in the long past of these races. It will never be simply the replacing of standards which have obtained in one portion of the world by those which have prevailed in another. Community of ideas, the assimilation by all the races of principles which have proved useful to any, will no doubt fashion the outward existence also of nations in a general way after a common type. This unity will however include also great diversities. It will take account of the traditions and experiences of all mankind. It will represent the free play of the spirit of all races of men upon an inheritance of humanity which has become the property of all. The assumption that a civilization superior in some points is superior in all is preposterous arrogance. The belief in the exclusive rightfulness of one type of culture is the essence of provincialism.

This impact of the forces of the West upon the East has had two different motives. Throughout the nineteenth century two sets of impulses have been more and more in evidence. They have stood in complex relations the one to the other. There has been, in the first place, frank advocacy of western principles of trade and government and, more recently, of secular education. These have been put forth at times by western men as the sole means of creating even the simplest conditions of well-being in the East. For example, in the newly opened parts of Africa, or again in poverty-stricken regions of India and China, there has been an avowed propaganda on behalf of western political and social and economic ideas and a generous sympathy with efforts of orientals to transform their institutions in consonance with these ideas. With enthusiasm men from the West resident in the East have thrown themselves into the work of education in these lands, into philanthropy and reform, into the healing and prevention of disease, into efforts for the mitigation of evils of every sort and for the amelioration of all conditions of life. This movement has been avowedly secular in its interest. It has often boasted of its contrast with the missionary endeavour. It has eschewed questions touching the conscience and involving the deepest convictions of men. Yet it is obvious that this movement

is not able to complete its work without advancing towards the area of that which is in principle ethical and religious. Preponderantly however, as we have said, its first motive has been economic and political and social, at the most, humanitarian. It has aimed primarily at changes in the outward life of men in the East through influences which have shaped that life in the West.

The other motive with which we have to deal is moral and religious in its nature. It has aimed primarily at changes in the inner life and religious convictions of men. There has been, mainly since the last decade of the eighteenth century and practically throughout the non-European world, a wide and zealous propaganda on behalf of the western man's religion. There has been a great enthusiasm for Christian missions. The missionary movement is older than the one to which we above alluded. At the outset it cherished aims quite different from those which we have just described. It has often appeared to be diametrically opposed to the secular movement. It has sought above all things to propagate a faith. It has aimed to disseminate the Christian religion in the forms in which those who entered upon this endeavour themselves understood that religion. It sought to substitute its own doctrines for those of eastern peoples. It endeavoured to establish communities for Christian worship similar to those which existed in the West. Its eager propagandists seem often to have been unaware how largely their own institutions, dogmas and practices had been shaped by the history of Christianity in the West. They aimed to transform the moral life of individuals through participation of these in a specific religious experience. They postulated a religious experience of all men closely resembling that of the missionaries themselves. The missionary movement made enemies by the exclusiveness with which, at the first, it held to these views. To this day it sometimes looks askance at the secular enthusiasms to which we referred. It is in turn viewed with scant sympathy by the votaries of those enthusiasms. Yet the missionary movement also has never been able to complete its work, or even greatly to advance that work, without calling to its aid factors which are not exclusively those of the inner life. The

religious spirit must find expression in the outward life of man. There are traits of Christian character which are developed only as men engage in their trades and politics and co-operate in their social organizations and economic endeavours. The highest type of Christian missionary has often been, to an extent of which he was perhaps not aware, the exponent of certain political ideas and educational principles as well. Yet the teaching of religion, the touching of the souls of men, has been the supreme object of his endeavour.

The movement which we seek to depict has thus gone out in waves, travelling from two centres. When a stone is cast into a pool concentric waves move from the point at which it falls to the farthest shores. Another stone cast into the water produces its own concentric waves. These two series of waves impinge each upon the other. At some points they beat one another down. At others they are supplementary and help one another forward. The troubling of the surface is the resultant of their conflicts and co-operations. Or, to change the figure, these movements of which we are speaking have not two centres, with merely an accidental relation of the one to the other. Rather, they constitute one movement which has two foci. The movement is an ellipse which can never be described except by the fixed relation of any point to both of these poles, that of civilization on one hand and of religion on the other. Or, again changing the image, the effort which is dominantly civilizing tends always, and even in spite of itself, to pass from the outer to the inner life of man. All civilization has its roots in the inner life. It is always raising questions of moral principles and religious faith. The other tendency, which is predominantly religious, is yet always moving from the life of the soul to the conditions of man's lot. It thus perennially conjures up all the questions of culture and civilization. I propose in these lectures to show that these two tendencies, opposed as they often seem to be the one to the other, have in modern times a common point of departure in European history. They have had, despite their diversities, a remarkable community of method. They have, in spite of their frequent mutual misunderstandings, a common end in the fulfilment of the whole life of man.

Historians of the Christian Church in the nineteenth century have not been wrong in calling this pre-eminently the century of missions. This is one aspect of the history of the Christian faith which has become in the course of the century, despite the efforts of its enemies and in spite, as well, of the errors of its friends, the most impressive aspect of that history. Propagandists for religion insistent upon their divine commission have, on the one hand, run risk of doing injustice to many other phases of the life of men. They have, on the other hand, seemed sometimes fairly to court the judgment that their work had no proper place in human history. Yet that work, which has often borne the aspect of an exclusive enthusiasm for a faith, has yet had vast influence upon the progress of civilization. It has done its part to alter almost every phase of the life of mankind. Were this not the case the work of missions would never have assumed the proportions which it has assumed. Yet no one, so far as I am aware, has thus far endeavoured adequately to set this particular phase of history in its organic relation to modern history as a whole. No one has offered a philosophy of this relation. This fact adds interest to the task which we propose.

Finally, we must recognize another fact. We of the West have not given to the rest of the world simply the finished results of our civilization or of our faith. On the contrary, we have presented to the world our own unsolved problems. We have drawn all mankind within the contagion of our own unrest. We have broken in ruthlessly upon the supposed peace of the Orient without having any peace of our own to offer in its place. We have no finished results, or, at all events, none which are worth transmitting. Life is more unsettled in England at the present moment than it has been at any time within two hundred and fifty years. What is true of England is true of other nations of Christendom. We have no unquestioned institutions. We have no settled economic policies. We have no finished educational systems, no unalterable creeds. Advantage is sometimes taken of these facts to urge that we might have done well to spare the oriental until we had some unqualified benediction to confer upon him. Perhaps the unsettling is the benedic-

tion. So Fichte, at all events, said to the men of the West at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Men speak with pride of the benefit accruing to the oriental from the spread of western trade. There are benefits no doubt. There are disadvantages as well. What however are the principles of individual and social welfare in England at the present moment? Are they not fundamentally in debate? Men have referred with unction to the status of women in Christendom and spoken reprovingly of their condition in the Orient. What is the status of women in England in this year of grace? Men have cried: "Let us give them Christianity!" But what is Christianity, either in creed or in any of its thousand applications to the life of man?

Quite apart however from these questions, it is now too late to spare the oriental. The bestowal of our problems upon him, whether for good or evil, has already taken place. The Orient is unsettled. The orientals for the most part wish it so. Everywhere is the pressure of the same questions, everywhere astonishing similarity of men's doubts. We said above that there has taken place in all countries of the earth a remarkable assimilation to certain standards. No less remarkable is the uniformity of the experience of uncertainty as to what those standards are. Perhaps Asiatics are to assist Europeans in the resolution of these difficulties. Very obvious is the influence which the West has had upon the East in the nineteenth century. Only emerging is the other fact of an influence which the East is bound to exert upon the West in the course of the twentieth century. The conceptions toward which we are moving will be less provincial, less racial and national, than those with which we heretofore have worked. Perhaps the instinct of solidarity which belongs to the East is the very thing which we need in a social organization like our own, torn as it is by excessive individualism. Individualism has been the secret of many of our blessings in the past. It is certainly the cause of some of our ills in the present. The East will concern itself but little with the racial antagonisms of Europeans among themselves, which are as yet unsurmountable barriers to common effort among us. We may be sure that the oriental

will take no cognizance whatever of many of our religious differences. These obstinate denominational antipathies have indeed an historical explanation. They have little religious significance. They have practical consequences which are almost unqualifiedly injurious. These are but hints of the way in which the Orient may easily find solutions of some problems which to us appear most difficult. It is certain that the influence of the East upon the world at large will in the twentieth century be vastly greater than it has been at any time since the fall of the Roman Empire. So much may serve by way of general introduction. Let me seek next to give a survey of some outward facts relating to that expansion of Christendom with which we are to deal.

LECTURE I

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM—MEANING OF THE PHRASE —MOTIVES OF THE MOVEMENT

The nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinary increase of the power and prestige of western nations in the East. There was marked enhancement of the intensity of that influence. There was notable change in the nature of that influence. The aims which Europeans set before them in Asia and Africa were altered and with them the methods chosen for the achievement of those aims. Finally, there was a more or less complete reversal of the attitude of Asiatic peoples toward the civilization of the West with its whole mode and interpretation of life.

Contacts, military, diplomatic and commercial, of the so-called Christian nations with non-Christian peoples had indeed assumed importance long before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Navigators like Captain Cook had, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, added islands and continents to the known geographic area, most of which were claimed as British dominion. Even these voyages of adventure were however only the belated chapters of a history of seafaring and discovery which had begun with the Renaissance. In the sixth decade of the eighteenth century Clive and his compeers had added to Great Britain a more or less unified dependency in India. This large increase of the area of British dominion had been made possible by the defeat of French ambitions, by the decline of Dutch commerce and by the decay of still older imperial projects of the Portuguese. The seventh decade of that century had brought to England, almost as if the transfer of possession were a detail of the peace arranged after a continental war, nearly the whole northern half of North America. In the ninth decade of the eighteenth century the

seaboard colonies of North America, which had been British territory, were indeed lost to the dominion of the king by the war for American independence. Yet that conflict now appears to us far less significant than our ancestors naturally esteemed it. The issue of that struggle has been not merely, and we may venture to say, not mainly, the addition to the sisterhood of nations of a republic great beyond the dreams which its founders can have cherished. It has not been the creation of a new world alien to Europe, as perhaps the victorious farmers thought. The issue of that contest has been rather the addition of the United States to the old world. For the purposes of this discussion and, we maintain, for any larger view of history, America remained but an expansion of Europe. With all of its vast growth it is still an extension of the area of the dominion of European, and preponderantly of British, ideas, character and spirit.

This transplanting of European, and again we say, dominantly of British, civil institutions, social traditions, intellectual and æsthetic culture, moral and religious life, within the area which is now that of the United States, was, through the sparseness of the aboriginal populations, through the absence of an indigenous civilization, more quickly accomplished and more complete in its results than any other expansion of Europe may now be expected to be. By this movement and by parallel movements in Canada, Australia and New Zealand continents have, within a single century, been transferred from the field of the influence of Anglo-Saxon Christendom to the area of the force by which that influence is being extended in the world. The fact that the most highly developed of the territories named, that of the United States, has been since the beginning of our period under its own government and not under the British crown, detracts nothing from the validity of the statement above made. The fact that, in contrast with Canada, Australia or New Zealand, the United States have latterly received large additions of population from Teutonic, Scandinavian, Latin and Slavic Europe, and in more recent years accessions even from the Levant and the Far East, the fact that the United States has ultimately made citizens out of denizens of Africa originally imported by fraud and violence

as slaves, alters as yet in no decisive measure the validity of our contention. It is contended that the United States is merely an addition of territory to Europe and mainly to the Europe in which Anglo-Saxon ideas prevail. Australia and New Zealand, with the policy of race-exclusion which they have decided to adopt, have had a slower proportionate development than the United States. They are more homogeneous and have a closer tie to the mother country. The United States, with the ancient ideal of furnishing a refuge to the impoverished and oppressed of every nation and with the reckless modern policy of seeking labourers for the development of its vast resources wherever it can find them, has taken great risks. It has set itself a problem which is fairly staggering even to the most hopeful. Yet, in the awakening of the East, it is the far-eastern peoples alone who are, albeit somewhat illogically, shut out. It remains that the United States are European and their fundamental sympathy is with the British Empire throughout the world.

Judged thus from the side of its inner life, the name Europe will have, for the purposes of this discussion, a connotation to which we do not need again to refer. The United States and Canada, Australia and New Zealand, are Europe. Mexico, the South American republics and considerable parts of South Africa are, in the sense of certain decisive influences, in the sense of the type of life and institutions, European. Asia, the East, the Orient are, on the other hand, only names for parts or the whole of that which is set over against Europe in this debate. Japan, China and the Ottoman Empire, obviously belong under this designation, but Africa is also the Orient for the purposes of this argument. What we have said serves only to bring out more clearly than ever the validity of the objection which has often been voiced to the vague way in which the terms East and West are used in much of current discussion. Yet it is difficult to avoid the use of these terms. There is a certain great unity of all that portion of the world which we have described as Europe, the West, the Occident, no matter in which hemisphere its scattered fragments may now lie. There is a certain great unity about the rest of the world as contrasted with this larger Europe. Finally,

since we are defining terms, it must be evident that the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century belong to our period. It is equally evident that the first decade and a half of the twentieth century is a period in which, with amazing swiftness, many of the characteristic tendencies of the nineteenth century have come to their fruition.

If thus, in the sense of our discussion, the two Americas and Australia have become parts of Europe, almost all the other portions of the earth—those which we have just named in contradistinction with Europe—have been subjected in various ways to European influence. How varied the forms of this influence have been and how manifold are the results, the briefest sketch of the history of these contacts may serve to show. It is natural that we should begin our résumé with the lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Not only is this the point nearest at hand, but here also contacts of East and West are not, as in most other quarters of the world, essentially modern. Here they have been continuous ever since the Roman Empire. The Venetians had had, from the tenth century onward, far-reaching relations in trade with the Moslem peoples about the shores of the Mediterranean. Indeed in the Venetians, in greater measure than in any other European people, the commercial tradition which had bound East and West together in the days of the classical civilization survived. The Venetians had lain to one side of the track of the great barbarian invasions. Their insular position had constituted a defence. Their interests were on the sea and did not bring them into conflict with the hordes which destroyed so much of the rest of the world. A thousand things in Venice to-day remind one of its half oriental character. In some sense it inherited the relation of Ravenna to the East. It grew great in rivalry with Constantinople for the latter's ascendency on the borders of the East. It betrayed Constantinople to the common enemy both in the Fourth Crusade and again in 1453. It lost its oriental possessions and a great part of its trade in the struggle with that foe against whom Constantinople should have been its bulwark. The French dominion in Cyprus and that of the Knights of St John at

Rhodes had been, at first, points of refuge after the fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem when the Crusaders were driven from Syria. These heroic outposts of the Occident also fell at last victims in the great war of the Crescent against the Cross. There had been however an interval when they too were stations of a flourishing commerce with the lands of Islam. They too had felt the jealousy of the Venetians. Their commerce also, like that of the Venetians, was after all ruined far more by the discovery of America than by the fury of the Turks. Charles V. and Don John of Austria had sought to check the so-called Moorish piracy. Yet even Lepanto never gave back the commercial empire to Venice or to the other Italian cities.

The prolonged and costly struggle of the Crusades had ended in dismal failure. It had drained Europe for that which at the last appeared to have been no reasonable or feasible purpose. If there were civilizing effects of the Crusades, they were effects of the Orient upon the Occident, rather than the reverse. The religious effect of the Crusades, so far from being the establishment of moral or spiritual sympathy, was rather the confirmation of fanaticism upon either side. The ferocity with which Ottoman armies threw themselves upon the south-eastern frontier of Europe, the immense impression created by the fall of Constantinople, had given Europeans no great desire for the invasion of Mohammedan lands either with their commerce or with their arms. It was enough if they kept their own lands from being invaded. The success of the Turkish conquest, not alone of the Balkan peninsula but of the ancient seats of Hellenic civilization, the narrow escape even of Vienna, so late as 1683, had made the minor victories which had fallen to the Crusaders seem faint and far away. The fact that Bethlen Gábor negotiated with the Turk in his struggle against the Hapsburgs filled Europe with horror. Peter the Great, after the campaign of the Azov, still thought the followers of the Prophet his great enemies. He did not yet realize that the empire of which he dreamed must face westward and not to the East. It must engage itself with Stockholm and leave the reckoning with Constantinople to his successors.

What wonder if, during this long period, the missionary of the Cross, until practically the middle of the nineteenth century, made hardly more impression upon the land of the Crescent than did Raymond Lull! The decay which seems now all suddenly to have overtaken the empire of the sultan, the loss of province after province within the last eighty years, the events which have transpired on the Bosporus in 1908-9, and again in 1912-13, the victory of the Balkan States in this latter year, would have appeared to our fathers quite beyond belief. The weakening of the Ottoman Empire from within, which is now so evident, is due without doubt in part to its contacts with European civilization. It is due to contrasts which are at last keenly felt by the Turks themselves, contrasts of the state of things in Turkey with European enlightenment and prosperity. It is due to the dissemination of western ideas, despite every effort made for generations to shut them out. It is due to these causes far more than to the force of arms. Indeed, in strange way, in the last fifty years the integrity of the Porte has been guaranteed by the foremost of the Christian powers. For the last few years it had seemed likely that in the rivalries of the European states, the party of progress in Turkey would fall into the hands of the most reactionary nations in Europe. In November 1914 this forecast was fulfilled. Turkey joined the Teutonic allies against its former supporters, England and France and its ancient foe, Russia. It thus took its place in the imperial projects of Germany. This step will have political consequences which are impossible now to prophesy. Constitutionalism in Turkey seemed in 1907 beyond hope even of the most sanguine. It hardly had a fair trial. Its issue is now more uncertain than ever. It had gained its opportunity, however, through the perpetuation of the impotent absolutism of the sultan, the pressure of European influences and the decline of the ancient Moslem culture. It seems now most probable that the opportunity of an autonomous and constitutional Turkey, as it appeared in 1909, was offered to the Turks in vain.

Africa has borne, from the era of the rise of Mohammedanism even down to our own day, close relation to Islam.

Africa was, moreover, the first of the continents to be touched by the adventurous navigators from Europe in the era of the Renaissance. It is natural therefore that we should speak next of Africa, although, on the other hand, Africa has been the last of the continents to feel the full effect of European influence. There had been in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries efforts towards establishment of colonies in southern Africa, first by the Portuguese, then by the Dutch and French and lastly also by the English. The settlements had had commercial but in part also civil and even religious motives. Their significance for their own time was not great. Their ultimate meaning as centres of still active racial ambitions and scenes of present European rivalries cannot be ignored. Some of these settlements are reminders of now vanished imperial hopes. Certain places on the south-eastern coast, in which the Portuguese standard was first set up, are among the last over which that standard still floats. The Dutch in Africa disputed, even in the Boer War, the advance of England in a manner for the parallel of which we should have to go back to the time when the navy of the Republic engaged that of Cromwell and of Charles in the Channel and in West Indian seas. The struggle for mastery in Europe, which we have long dreaded and which has now come to pass, has already been in some measure prosecuted in and on behalf of Africa. Only the earliest phases of that struggle in Africa are as yet revealed. The Boers who, fifteen years ago, fought against the British, now fight valiantly on their side. Germany has lost all her African possessions. The German confidence however that the Boers were only waiting to revolt proves to have been misplaced.

In the generations which intervened, however, between Cromwell and these later events, or at least until the early part of the nineteenth century, one might almost say that the main activity of alleged civilized and Christian peoples, so far as related to Africa, had been not the establishment of European settlers in Africa. It had not been the extension of European influence on that continent. It had been rather the forcible removal of Africans by Europeans and Americans from Africa. It had been the establishment by American

slave-traders of a new Africa in territory which presently became that of the Southern States of their own Union. Portuguese and Spanish and again French and British traders had done the same for the area of their conquests in South America and for the islands of the Spanish main. The nineteenth century had for the relations of Europe and Africa a character of its own. This was the period of the great explorations and discoveries in interior and equatorial Africa, the period of the great missions to Africa, the period of the exploitation and attempted partitionment of central and northern Africa, the period of England in Egypt and the Soudan, of France in Algiers and Morocco, of Italy in Abyssinia and Tripoli, of Belgium in the Congo, of Germany in East and South-West Africa and the Cameroon. This was the period in which Europe, having at last itself desisted from the slave trade, arose to destroy the Arab slave-traders. These events all belong however to the period with which we have set ourselves more especially to deal.

We have alluded more than once to the great era of voyaging and discovery both in the far East and to the far West which began with the Renaissance. We have referred to imperial ambitions which fired the hearts of some of the European nations throughout the century of the Reformation and for perhaps two generations thereafter. We have spoken of the Ottoman Empire and of Africa. Before we speak of other countries in detail it may be worth while to say a few words concerning these successive schemes of colonial empire. For to these empires almost all the countries which we have still to name have borne more or less decisive relation. The Portuguese were the first to win great renown and tangible benefit from their discoveries. Certain Italian navigators were not far behind the Portuguese in their achievements. The division of Italy however into petty and warring states was in part the reason why none of these states profited largely by the prowess which their navigators showed. It was a Genoese for whom the queen of Spain fitted out the expedition which, seeking a new way to the Indies, brought America to the knowledge of the world. It was Spain first and then Portugal which took possession first of the islands and then of the mainland of

America, both to the south and to the north of the Isthmus of Panama. Neither Spanish or Portuguese, however, were great empire builders. Nor in the best sense were they colonists or traders. They were conquerors and even plunderers. The lands in the new world which they courageously explored were but thinly populated and had only a rudimentary civilization. Yet the civilization of Portugal and of Spain never in any larger measure took its place. Mexico and Brazil are not Spain and Portugal in America in the sense in which the United States and Canada are still typically a vast Great Britain on their own side of the sea. Quebec is a survival, under the British crown, of the seventeenth century in New France. It is, however, a survival, it is not a living France. Brazil is a survival of sixteenth century New Portugal, and Mexico and the Argentine are survivals of sixteenth century New Spain. All three wear the nineteenth century democratic garb. No one of the three is now an integral part of the European empire to which it owed allegiance at the first. Yet no one of the three is the heir of a vigorous and unceasing tradition of European tendencies in culture and religion in the sense in which this is true of the United States and Canada in the western and of Australia and New Zealand in the southern hemispheres.

A world empire ruled from Portugal is now only a remembrance. A world empire ruled from Spain was once the terror even of England itself. Almost the last fragment of that empire disappeared in the loss of Cuba and the Philippines in 1898. A world empire ruled from France, of which Colbert dreamed, for which La Salle wandered and Montcalm died, was reduced, a few years ago, to Algiers and Madagascar, to French Guiana and some spots upon the borders of China. Within the last two decades the colonial possessions of France in Africa have again increased enormously. France is now the third, with England and Russia, in respect of the area of its extra-European territorial possessions. This remarkable recovery of place on the part of France as a colonizing power belongs, as we have said, to most recent years and is part of the movement with which we are especially to deal. A world empire ruled from

Holland can now show hardly more than Java, Sumatra, Borneo and New Guinea, Surinam and a few small islands in the West Indies. For a world empire ruled from Germany one may say, as in the case of Italy, that the division of the race into little quarrelling principalities was fatal in the day when the opening of the modern world took place. For its share in the apportionment of the world into outlying empires united Germany came too late. It is certain, however, that long before the outbreak of the present war, and quite apart from historical and racial questions principally affecting Europe, the growth of German world-commerce and the ambition of Germany to become a naval power had changed the attitude of mind of the Empire towards colonial possessions. It is certain that Germany had viewed the expansion of French colonial possessions in the last few years with envy. It is certain that she felt that England barred her way to possessions in the world which otherwise she might make her own. At the time of the outbreak of the war, however, the possession of Togo and the Cameroon, of parts of East and South-West Africa, of a single port on the coast of China and of Samoa and the Carolines in the South Pacific, could hardly be said to do more than emphasize the fact that Germany, one of the greatest of the modern European states, had no comparable colonial empire. It is certain that the accentuation of feeling in Germany against England rather than against France, of late years, has had to do with an awakening of colonial ambitions which has taken place since the death of Bismarck. Similarly Italy, whose exploits in the opening of the modern world movement have been alluded to, had no extra-European possessions prior to 1895. But indeed, prior to 1870 there was no Italy. Eritrea, with Somaliland and Tripoli for which the Italian monarchy made war upon the new Turkish constitutional state and drew apart from her own colleagues in the Triple Alliance, emphasize only the desire of the Italians to imitate the other world-powers and furnish an outlet for her population nearer than America.

A world-wide empire ruled from England, had in the year in which Queen Victoria died, one square mile out of every four of all the land on the globe under its flag and one person

out of every five on the whole face of the earth as its subject. There has been nothing like that in the history of the world. The Roman Empire shrinks to a province if one compares only areas. Judged by the influence of its civilization, by the transforming quality exerted through its laws, trade, culture and religion, the superiority of the modern empire is not so obvious. It is too soon to judge of its full effect in this regard. When one thinks of the unity to which Rome moulded the world during the first three centuries of her empire, and of the permanence of her influence in some respects even to this day, we grow uncertain of our comparisons. Yet certainly the British Empire has exerted an enormous influence upon every aspect of the civilization of the modern world, and not least during the last few decades, when the character and quality of this influence has been rapidly changing. The British Empire is incomparably the greatest factor in the creation of that unity of the life of the world which is one of the most striking facts in our time. The world presents to-day the phenomenon of a unity under the influence, not indeed solely of Great Britain, but of Europe as a whole, the like of which has not been since the empire of the Cæsars fell. The Roman Empire has often been described in terms of its conquests, and indeed it was a great military power. The modern historian is however profoundly impressed by the influence of that empire in other than military ways. He marvels at the civilization which it spread, at the art and literature which it fostered, at the laws which it promulgated, at the peace which it maintained. The case is similar with this unity of the modern world of which we speak. It has not, indeed, been achieved by the arms of one nation. Part of it has not been achieved by force of arms at all. The best part of it is an influence of mind and spirit. It is an influence of laws and culture. It is the influence of a mode of life, of a total apprehension of the world. Yet it cannot be denied that it is again a preponderance of Europe. It is an impulse of Europe throughout the known world for which that old mastery having its centre in the City on the Seven Hills affords the only parallel. There is something profoundly suggestive in this recollection. The world was once before

welded into a unity, although under circumstances widely different from those which obtain in our day. This unity and preponderating influence extends now to the farthest corners of the earth. It has been preparing for four hundred and fifty years. It has come to its realization in the nineteenth century. It has been more effectively asserted and more solidly achieved, it has brought within its range a larger proportion of all the aspects of life, during the nineteenth century alone, than in all the centuries which have preceded. This was the opening assertion of these lectures, namely, that the nineteenth century had witnessed an unparalleled increase of power and prestige, as also of the area and intensity of the influence, of the western nations in the East.

Even the brief résumé which we have thus far made brings out the second characteristic of our movement to which we referred. It was asserted that the nineteenth century had witnessed also a notable change in the nature of the influence which the nations of the West aspired to exert upon the East. There has been an alteration of the aims which Europeans have set before themselves in their contacts with the Orient and in the methods which they have adopted for the furtherance of those aims. One cannot speak ever so briefly of the world-wide empire of Great Britain, as it is to-day, without realizing how different is now the temper and purpose of that empire, not merely from that of the other European empires in Asia which preceded it, but also from the traits which characterized the British colonial dominion itself a hundred years ago. Furthermore, one cannot write even the few words which we used concerning the extraordinary enlargement of the area which is to-day under the British flag without being at the same time reminded of the other fact to which allusion was made. However great is the Britain of which the imperialists write, there is, as we have seen, a greater Britain still which cannot indeed, as a political magnitude, be called by that name, but which in a deeper sense can hardly be called by any other name. It is the Britain over which other national banners fly, but in which the English language is spoken and within which the maxims

of English constitutional government obtain. It is the world in which education as it has been developed in Great Britain is largely dominant. It is the world in which Christianity, as inherited largely from Great Britain, propagates itself. However great is the greater Europe over which in other hemispheres the European sovereignties hold sway, to which governors go out, from which reports and revenues come back, there is a greater Europe still. There is a greater Europe which is still rapidly growing, even where the outward extension of European states is checked. It is a greater Europe, over some parts of which it is quite certain that European flags will never fly, yet in which a civilization essentially European is cherished, in which European ideas are more and more the regnant ideas, for which European culture is the light and in which European morals, social forces and religion are of continually increasing power.

In every variety of relation to actual European sway stands this fact of an ever increasing European influence. In every kind of relation to European sovereignty appears this progressive, absorbing Europeanizing tendency. We have passed the stage in which it seemed that the West had to force its ways upon the East. We have reached the point at which the East clamours for many things which the West has no longer any need to force upon the men of the Orient, but can hardly move fast enough to supply at their demand. It is beginning to be evident that the fulfilment of this tendency might not be essentially different if the actual pressure of European sovereignties were removed. One is even tempted to think that in some cases the passing away of this external power may be the essential condition of the overcoming of racial animosities, of the forgetting of old wrongs and of the free play of eastern minds in the acceptance of western impulses. It is quite certain that no new European sovereignties can now be permanently established, nor can the old ones be extended, on the basis merely of force. It is quite certain that those European sovereignties in the East and in the southern hemisphere which already exist cannot maintain themselves except as they are transformed into instrumentalities, no longer of aggression and plunder, no longer of mere overbearing domination, but into agencies

of civilization and enlightenment and of the amelioration of the life of their subject peoples. This is the change which with ever increasing rapidity and thoroughness has been passing over the British world-wide dominion within the last two generations. This is the change which the newly established and enlarged French dominion in Africa illustrates. This was the change which, for an evil moment, the Belgian protectorate in the Congo refused to face. The protectorate thus brought upon itself the censure of the world and a repudiation by the conscience of the Belgian people itself which in the end the king and company could not ignore. This is the change which in some of its small dominions in Africa, as notably among the Hereros, the German colonial administration showed no disposition whatever to recognize. This is the change which has done more than all things else to alter the attitude of eastern nations toward certain European influences. It is this which has made it possible for those nations to see in the acceptance of certain European impulses the fulfilment of their own life. This is the change which makes the occasional advance of a European power into Africa or into China with no other apparent maxims than the obsolete ones of mere conquest or exploitation, appear like the harking back to the standards of bygone ages and a relapse into the spirit of barbarism. This is the change which Russia has been slow to recognize as imperative and on which the welding of all her vast possessions into a real empire waits. We have thus opened up to us another view of the facts concerning the varied contacts of Europe with the rest of the world in the nineteenth century. We get another view of the aims which more and more the wisest and best of the European nations have come to have in these contacts. We have an interpretation of the change of mind of orientals themselves toward these contacts, a change of mind which is one of the most significant of all the facts with which we have to do.

The British rule in India is the most conspicuous example of this transformation which we could cite. It does not admit of question that for more than two hundred years the relations of England to India were dominated mainly by the commercial idea. The conquests of the British in India had

for their purpose the extension of an immensely profitable commerce. The wars of Great Britain with other European states, so far as they related to India, had for their purpose the maintenance of this commerce as a British monopoly. All other purposes were subordinated to this one. The dawn of any higher idea of the relation of Great Britain to India came late in the eighteenth century. We shall have occasion to trace this development in detail in a later chapter. Suffice it here to say that public opinion in England was outraged by that which it learned of the administration of the East India Company. Public protest made itself felt in progressive alterations of the charter of the company, until at last the administration of the company was in accord with the higher sentiment which had meantime come to prevail in England. Beginning with Lord William Bentinck, in 1829, the company changed completely its attitude toward education and missions. Its governors became the great advocates of reforming and philanthropic and ameliorative work. Already long before the Mutiny the movement had begun by which Indians were given large share in the government of their own country. For the last generation it may be truly said that the British government in India has cared for all the interests of the Indian peoples with an intelligence and devotion, with a generosity and sacrifice, parallel to that which has been given to the interests of its own people in the British Isles. The enlightenment and liberty granted to the Indian peoples have contributed in their measure to the existing unrest and agitation. They have given scope for the development of an Indian national sentiment which cherishes the dream of achieving some day the independence of India. Yet no other course would have been esteemed worthy of England. Moreover, the course of England in India for a generation has been such that the vast majority of the sober-minded among the Indians gravely doubt whether good would result, and not rather evil, at present, from the withdrawal of England from India. With a just and natural emphasis upon the rights and privileges of the Indian peoples, they are at present convinced that those rights are guarded and those privileges accorded under British rule. The people of Great Britain, on the other

hand, are convinced that their own highest interests are subserved by the freest development of the Indian peoples. They rejoice in the obvious growth of an Indian national sentiment. At the same time they are conscious that the best which European civilization can confer upon India is being generously conferred. They realize that a period of peace and order is necessary for the completion of the great task which they have begun. They are as far removed as possible from the old ideals of mere conquest or exploiting of a subject people. They have thus taken long steps toward the incorporation of an oriental people into a real and willing unity with an occidental empire. They have done that which they could to atone for acts of tyranny and unscrupulousness by which the earlier history of their contact with the East was marred, but of which it is inconceivable that the British world-empire should now be guilty. The justice of these remarks has been more than evident since the outbreak of the war. If ever an empire had right to be proud of anything, Great Britain may be proud of the loyalty of India and South Africa. It is the recognition of the essential justice of her rule.

If thus India represents the progress of an oriental people in the assimilation of western culture and its transformation under the sway of a western state, two other great Asiatic peoples illustrate, each in its own way, that same awakening and transformation without ever having fallen under the sovereignty of an occidental power. These are China and Japan. These two nations afford therefore, in some sense, a still more striking illustration of the point we seek to make. First and last China has suffered from the violence of almost every nation in Europe. She has been exploited by their greed. Even now she is not strong enough to stand against any one of the greater powers, should direct assault be made upon her. She has been protected during a critical period of her history by the jealousy of these powers among themselves. For some years now it has seemed less and less probable that violence would be offered to the integrity of China by a European state. In one of the early crises of the war there appeared to be reason to fear the aggression of Japan. China took a somewhat futile appeal to American

and European sentiment against that aggression. China has herself, within the last few years, completely changed her attitude toward many aspects of western civilization. It had been hoped that within a reasonable period she would be in a position to protect herself. The Europeanizing of China, the transformation of its life by European ideas and impulses, is going on with a rapidity which is almost incredible. Even a dominating influence of Japan, were such influence asserted, would be in some sense a Europeanizing influence. In contrast with China, Japan has never been under European dominion, not even in the smallest portion of her territory. Even the extra-territorial concessions which she was once obliged to make in certain ports were small as compared with those to which China was forced. Moreover, they have been long since repealed. Yet no people has ever absorbed certain elements of European civilization so rapidly as have the Japanese. No people have, within a single generation, so completely modified large aspects of their thought and life, while at the same time remaining in a marvellous way true to themselves. By the adoption of large factors of European civilization, Japan has become a first-class military and naval and commercial power. She is prepared to take formidable part in any European conflict. She is certain to play a leading rôle in the transformation of China. She is the protagonist of Asia. This has been fully evident since the outbreak of the war. We need these references to China and Japan to complete the picture which we are trying to make.

There had been fighting, now with the natives and now of the Europeans among themselves, there had been more or less successful European commerce, up and down the coast of China, throughout the earlier half of the eighteenth and the whole of the seventeenth centuries. In fact, the first settlement of the Portuguese in China and the first mission of the Jesuits to China go back to the middle of the sixteenth century. Relations were however very strained. The Portuguese occupation in China went hardly farther than Macao. English influence was barely felt outside Canton. Jesuit missionaries stood high at the court of the last Ming emperors and at that of the first Manchus.

They were honoured for their learning in the sciences. They made amiable and shrewd concessions to Chinese customs. Later the very name of Christian came to be hated at Peking. The Jesuits were accused of political intentions. Accommodations which in their propaganda they had made to Chinese rites were assailed by Dominicans and repudiated by the authorities at Rome. Foreign emissaries of religion were rigidly excluded from China. The practice of Christianity was forbidden. Trade was limited to the narrowest areas and placed under hampering restrictions. Diplomatic intercourse was practically refused. Every effort was made by the proud Chinese civilization, even in its subjugation to the half-barbarian Manchus, to resist the approach of influences from the West. Down to the reign of Chien Lung the old order seemed not merely unchanged, but unchangeable. The diplomatic missions of Lord Amherst and of Mr Macartney failed. It was not until the end of the decade of the thirties in the nineteenth century that the great clash came. Then followed the period of the British introduction of opium on a large scale into China, of the forceable opening of ports, of the exaction of indemnities, of the wresting of trade from the helpless Chinese. Hong Kong was ceded to the British. Treaties were drastically enforced, even when they were broken by the Chinese through ignorance or in just indignation. The opium evil grew to monstrous proportions. Rights granted to foreigners, and even to Chinese converts to Christianity under the protection of foreigners, were such as no sovereign state would ever have granted except perforce. Yet not until the Tai Ping rebellion, or at least until the burning of the Summer Palace in 1860, did the Chinese government seem to open its eyes to the danger in which it stood. Even then, there was still to be more than a generation of the reign of that extraordinary woman, the Empress Dowager. In spite of every wound and humiliation inflicted upon China both by Europeans and by the Japanese, the Empress and her advisers still dreamed that the Middle Kingdom could continue under the Son of Heaven just as it had done since Confucius' time. In the summer of 1900, in the siege of the legations, China with pitiable fatuousness threw down

the gauntlet to all the world at once. That event was naturally the end of the old state of things. Yet, who would have believed that within a decade we should witness such a turning of the mind and will of the Chinese toward western ideas and influences? Who could have forecast such an embracing of things hated and hating of things once embraced, such a welcoming of European education, trade, arts and appliances, of European civil, social and even moral principles? Who would have believed that we should see the abdication of the Manchus, the inauguration of constitutional government, the abandonment of the ancient system of instruction, the reversal of almost every apprehension of the most conservative people in the world? Truly the reversal is so radical as to make the prudent onlooker grave. The absolutism of the strong men recently at the head of affairs was apparently the only protection against anarchy for a people so ill-prepared as are the Chinese at present for the steps which in their enthusiasm they have taken. The Chinese are not at the end, they are but at the beginning of a most critical period in their history. They are undertaking in a moment changes which cost our ancestors centuries of strife. They have profound need of our sympathy and generous helpfulness. What will be the issue no one can foresee.

Evidently here is an expansion of Europe, not in an outward and territorial sense, but in the inner, the intellectual and spiritual, sense of which we spoke. The period of greatest danger of attempted partitionment among the European powers seems to have passed. For that the peril of being overshadowed by Japan is substituted. Most of the European powers are now profoundly grateful that in 1901 they were saved from entering upon a course which then seemed so easy, but which surely would by this time have presented enormous difficulties. Yet here is an acceptance of ideas by an oriental people, an adoption of principles, a commitment to ways discovered and pursued in Europe, so sudden, so willing, so complete, that we are fairly bewildered by it. One wonders whether the movement can be carried through without the use of force, either European or Japanese. We wonder whether any interference with the

evolution of the Chinese themselves will not hinder rather than help the movement. What is taking place is a peaceable conquest of a fourth part of the human race by the mind of Europe. It is a conquest for the mind of Europe which, had it been attempted by arms of Europe, would probably have proved wholly impracticable. It is the swift assimilation of certain ideas which seem destined to rule the world and which have had their history in western Europe, which indeed until very recently had no history anywhere in Asia. Yet these ideas are being assimilated by the most conservative of oriental peoples. It is the surrender to certain western principles upon the part of a nation which, until fifteen years ago, was fanatically hostile to those principles, and which even now, in its mass and inertia, presents a problem the like of which the world has never seen.

The Chinese have but entered upon a road which has been trodden for sixty years with high intelligence, with much self-abnegation, yet also with lofty self-consciousness and self-assertion by another far-eastern people, the Japanese. The Japanese took advantage of the isolation of their geographical position, of their racial and social homogeneity, of a tradition of leadership inherited from the age of feudalism and perhaps, above all, of the gifts of a few notable personalities in high places, to conclude within two generations a transformation at the beginning of which China stands in an attitude which makes us wonder whether she can complete the change in ten. The Japanese have lighted a light which, perhaps more than we realize, is at this moment the beacon of every nation in the East. European contacts with Japan began at the same time which we noted in the case of China. The Portuguese were at Nagasaki before Francis Xavier, laying the foundation, as they hoped, for trade. The saint himself in a few fruitful years established there the Christian faith. Here too however, after a period of partial favour, came a period of strong reaction. The Japanese myth of the time regarded the pope as the emperor of all Europe. The different nations were but his provinces. The priests were his spies, the traders but the earliest of his emissaries. Soldiers were to follow. The pope's aim was to subjugate the East as he

had already subjugated all the West. The Japanese barred themselves successfully in their island-world. The Dutch alone were granted the privilege of commerce. They were limited to the one tiny island of Deshima, at Nagasaki, and even to that they might send but one ship a year. The history of the continuance of Japanese Roman Catholicism, cut off as it was from contact with Europe, from those early days of fierce persecution down to the year of the treaties, 1859, is one of the most romantic chapters in the history of any faith. One may see to-day in the national museum in Tokyo crucifixes of silver, of bronze or of ivory, with the carving almost effaced. It is alleged that persons suspected of allegiance to Christianity were, in the persecutions, driven between two converging lines of soldiers through a narrow outlet over one of these crucifixes laid upon the ground. Those who would tread upon the cross were spared. Those who would not were immediately cut down. The service held in the house of one of the missionaries in Kyoto in 1875 is thought to have been the first under actual protection of the authorities in two hundred and fifty years. To all intents the realm of the Tokugawas was hermetically sealed. Even shipwrecked foreign sailors cast upon its shores ran risk of being put to death. A native who had left his country faced death if he attempted to return. It was the same decade, that of the fifties in the nineteenth century, which saw the Mutiny in India and the larger opening in China, which witnessed also the forcing of a treaty between the United States and Japan, practically under the muzzle of the guns. The rule of the shoguns was tottering in any case. It was brought to an end through the differences between the Shogun and the Mikado upon the issue of foreign relations and trade. It was brought to an end by an act of lofty patriotism in the abdication of the Shogun. Japanese writers urge that a renaissance of Japan was already in progress before the pressure from without began to make itself felt. They are pardonably anxious to show that the Meiji era and the new Japan are not wholly the fruit of European influence. They are no doubt right. No nation could have done that which Japan did in the single life-time of the Emperor Mutsuhito, except as it acted from a profound con-

viction, a unified intention and by the forces of its own inner life. We may say these things the more readily because there is only too much in so brief a narrative as this which we are attempting to convey the superficial impression that western impulses were the only forces to be reckoned with. This is assuredly not true. Yet the fact remains that the constitutionality of the realm of Japan is moulded upon principles which have been developed in the European world from the democracies of Greece to our own day. These principles had never been exemplified in the history of any nation in the Orient. The training which the Japanese universities offer is that which the European and American universities afford. Europeans and Americans were for a limited period at the head of almost every department of higher instruction. Then in the wisdom of the Japanese they gave way to the Japanese themselves. No nation has ever studied the experience of other nations so intelligently as Japan had studied the life of the West. Armies were trained and navies were created after the best patterns known in the West. There is something sinister in our admission that Japan never could have maintained herself against the aggression of the West, had she not decided to learn all of our best lessons and to improve upon them if she could. The Japanese aimed to be prepared to contend with us in our own fields and to win victories over us, if need be, with our own weapons. The same remark might be made concerning the evolution of trade since the peace. What should have been American trade in the Pacific, if it had not been foolishly neglected or destroyed by demagogic legislation, Japan is perfectly fair in seeking to take away from us and has now largely taken. Japan is one of the circle of the great nations, a western power in the far East, an eastern power in the West, as you may please. She is however herself Asiatic, oriental, not merely in her own consciousness but in our wise admission. The inner secrets of her life are her own. It is by that fact that she will be able to play the part which is allotted to her in the development of parts of Asia upon the mainland beginning with Korea and Manchuria. It is by this fact that the Japanese are assuming that they are to aid China in the

throes in which the latter finds herself. In profoundest respect, however, for all that belongs to Japan in this movement, is not Japan the crowning example of that which we have called an expansion of Europe, the extension of that which has been characteristic mainly of Christendom, the naturalization of the mind and life of the West, uniting indeed with that wonderful resurgence of the life of the East which is everywhere evident in our day? It is curious to note that a generation ago both Europeans and Americans frequently used the expression, "the effete East." To-day no phrase could seem more inept. It suggests entire ignorance on the part of him who uses it.

No one underestimates the vitality of the East, no one forecasts a dull uniformity of the spread of our western notions and conventions in alien lands. Many of our notions stand revealed to us as so crude that we can in truth have but little zeal to see them adopted by others, without large modification. Many of the forces of our civilization are injurious even in the lands in which they have been indigenous. They would certainly be only the more injurious if they were imposed upon others. It is primarily only through this resurgence of the life of the East, operating with those influences of the West which are really vital, that we can think of a unity of the life of the whole humanity as a thing to be desired. It is thus only that we can think of a unity to which every people shall have made its contribution. In such a unity the reaction of the East upon the West will be, in one way, almost or quite as significant as is now the action of the West upon the East.

We have thus far spoken of two different aspects of the movement which we have called the expansion of Europe, the extension of the power and influence of Christendom, the assimilation of the East to standards which had their origin and development in the West. We have established the fact that these phrases, expansion and extension, have two senses. They have an outward and an inner meaning. They may connote, on the one hand, an enlargement of the area in which the races of western Europe actually dwell in large numbers, or again in which small numbers of them hold sway over men of another race. Into some of these new terri-

tories Europeans in large numbers migrated, displacing or even destroying the sparse populations which preceded them and establishing European institutions. These institutions have been but slightly modified to meet new conditions. Or again they have followed the logic of a development already begun upon European soil, but for which even more favourable conditions were found in the new lands. The territories have sometimes remained, or again in some conspicuous cases they have not remained, in political union with the lands which gave these new colonial entities their birth. Canada and the United States afford the great examples here. Under these same words, expansion and extension, however, and in the same general sense, we have described another set of facts. We have described certain enlargements of the area actually governed by European powers, as India is governed by Great Britain, although in some of these lands only a relatively small number of Europeans reside. In these cases there has been but slight displacement of previous populations. In them large elements of ancient civilization remain unaltered or are only now beginning to be seriously altered. Yet, as political entities, these territories belong to one portion or another of Europe. They are integral parts of empires ruled from Europe. India, as we were saying, is the great example. There have been several European world-empires which illustrated the relation which Great Britain holds to India. All the others have practically passed away. The one which has not passed away is the only one which in any larger manner ever came to concern itself with the inner transformation of the peoples governed by it. It is the one which has frankly ceased to be an empire merely of conquest or even solely of trade, but which has become an instrumentality of the development and uplifting of every aspect of the life of the peoples under its care. Conversely, India is the salient example of an oriental people, once conquered and long exploited by Europeans, which is now being really assimilated to the life of a wide-world empire to which it belongs. It represents a subject race or group of races become conscious of itself, setting before itself new ideals, many of which are essentially the ideals of the culture and civilization of the West and not of the East.

Nevertheless, to the fulfilling of those ideals India has not felt it necessary to seek to throw off the yoke of Great Britain. Rather, it esteems itself aided by Great Britain in the fulfilment of those ideals. It presents the phenomenon of a people, or rather of a vast complex of peoples, undergoing transformation in its intellectual and economic, its social, and moral and religious life, according to standards other than those of its own past, yet not hindered in that transformation by the empire to which it is outwardly subject nor finding it necessary to revolt against that empire in order to its own self-realization.

India therefore represents, if we may so say, a middle term between that territorial enlargement which we have associated with the words expansion of Europe, extension of Christendom, and that empire of the political and social ideas of Europe, that preponderance of the intellectual and moral impulses of European civilization, which has taken place, on the other hand, in some oriental nations, without their ever having passed under the sovereignty of European states. We have taken China and Japan as examples of this latter aspect of our movement. We have pointed to these peoples as exponents of the secondary sense in which we use our words extension of Europe, expansion of Christendom. We have used these two peoples as illustrations of the inward and spiritual empire of Europe which is far wider than any European sovereignty or than all the European sovereignties combined. China stands but at the beginning of such a movement. In Japan that movement is relatively complete. In China much that is most precious in the inheritance of the past is for the moment jeopardized. Much that is being taken over from the inheritance of the West is as yet external to the national life of China. It is but half understood. It is crudely and unintelligently adopted. It has entered into very imperfect fusion with fundamental elements of the race's life. In Japan the process is far more advanced. The genius of the race has powerfully reasserted itself. The elements of the life of the West of which the Japanese can make use have entered into living combination with the genius of the Japanese people themselves. Other elements have been sloughed off. For this reason Japan is typical of the new

and larger sense, the secondary sense, in which we may speak of the naturalization of the life of the West in the East, of an assimilation of the life of the East to that of the West. The contrast which the histories of India and of Japan in the nineteenth century present shows how widely divergent may be the paths which lead in the end to the same goal. It shows how diverse may be the conditions under which the same result may be achieved. This contrast reveals how complex, when taken in its entirety, is the movement which we have set ourselves to describe.

As we have seen, empires of Europeans have existed at different times in all corners of the earth. They have expressed for a time the ambitions of proud peoples. They have brought power and prestige to these peoples, although they have at times also wasted the resources of these peoples. They have brought wealth to the ruling nations. Usually also they have corrupted them by that wealth. They have furnished outlet for population and markets for trade. They have passed away so completely that in some cases, as for example in that of Spain, or again of Holland or Denmark, we find it difficult to realize how great their world-empires once were. They have for the most part also passed away without leaving any great mark in an inner transformation, political, social, intellectual or ethical upon the subject peoples. The mere outward control, such as that attempted by the Spaniards or by the English in their earlier days, is apparently a relatively futile thing. It is likely to be almost as injurious to the peoples exerting it as to those over whom it is exerted. How far it may be necessary to put people down in order to lift them up is a question which it is perhaps as futile to debate in the area of the life of nations as in that of individuals. It is certain, however, that an argument on behalf of this necessity is in danger of becoming a hypocritical and vicious argument in the mouth of those who have put other peoples down. Conversion by the threat of the scimitar and the dissemination of culture at the point of the bayonet are at the same level. A control which continues in order to keep other peoples down is a monstrosity. A control which exists in order to lift peoples up must set before itself

the sole ideal which reigns in the relation of parents and children—this ideal, namely, that, as mere outward control, it shall cease to exist. Certainly nothing can now blind us to the fact that the aim of the contacts of one portion of the world with another is the benefit, not of one nation only, but of all the nations concerned, but especially of that nation which most needs help and uplifting. There may be the fullest justification for such a vast combination of peoples and interests in one imperial whole as the British Empire to-day presents, especially since it exists as an inheritance from an age when it was entered upon with far other views. Yet the British themselves are ardent in professing that their justification does not lie in the mere aggrandizement of Britain as a political or financial power. It lies in the mission of mutual helpfulness which the peoples fulfil one to the other. It is to be judged by its relation to the fulfilment of the ideal of humanity as a whole. Judged by this standard, an empire like that of Great Britain may indeed excite envy of ignorant and inexperienced nations, as a great fortune excites the envy of the parvenu. Judged by the experience of those really conversant with the problem it constitutes in solemn truth the white man's burden, which races have usually assumed when they had far different ideas as to what it was which they were assuming. It continues as a task from which a great race does not find it easy to draw back, but with which it is certainly not easy to go forward. The appreciation of these facts on the part of the greater nations which bear sway in the world, and in smaller measure also by the nations over whom sway is borne, constitutes one of the greatest differences between the beginning of the twentieth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. An international public opinion, which few nations or even individuals have the hardihood to defy, rules in matters which a century ago were not so much as an object of interest to a large part of mankind nor the sphere of any universally recognized ideals. The war has indeed brought into question in shocking manner the particular sentiment which is here expressed. Nevertheless we rest assured that the very flouting of these ideals, the violence done to this international opinion, makes it not the less, but

rather the more, certain that the day will come when there will be just as sure a recognition of obligations as between nations as now obtains among right-minded individuals. In this respect the war may be viewed as an unhappy but perhaps necessary episode of the transition out of the state of things in which there has been such monstrous contrast between the standards of private and those of public life.

That however we may be just to the past, and as well, that we may really understand the present, we should do well to inquire into the motives which have successively ruled in this movement which we are endeavouring to describe. We should do well to inquire how these motives presented themselves in their series to European minds. For with the Europeans lay the initiative in all stages of the progress of this movement. The Spanish conquests showed least of the desire to go beyond mere conquest of the unfortunate peoples who fell in the conqueror's way. Herein lay the reason why the Spanish conquests, viewed only as such, were so little effective or stable. Race pride, love of power, greed of gold, these were the main motives of the Spanish conquests. Gold flowed into Spain, hardly less to the demoralization of the country to which it went than at the price of the ruin of the land from which it came. The history of these conquests shows often valour and endurance of a high order. It shows often also the cruelty and fanaticism which have been described as an Iberian inheritance from the long wars with the Moors. Traders the Spanish invaders were not on any large scale. Agriculturists also they never became. Few women accompanied them, therefore their relations with the aboriginal peoples were often of the very worst. Slavery of the brown man, of the red man and the black man followed in their wake. Even the missionaries in Mexico and California cultivated their estates by the aid of slaves. In Cuba before the liberation it was said that there were hardly any families of pure Spanish blood, save a few recently come there because of investments and who did not intend to remain. Of the Philippines the same thing was true. The crisis through which Mexico has been passing in the last few years speaks for itself. It is a republic only in name. It has been in modern

times well governed only by an absolute despot. Its constant revolutions and rebellions make clear that its people have an idea of liberty. The same facts make clear however that they have as yet but little idea of those law-abiding reserves and mutual concessions by which alone free government can be sustained. Mexico is the despair of foreign investors. Yet it needs scarcely anything so much as that which such investors could do for the country in the development of its vast resources and in the habituation of its people to ordered industry, if only security could be given. The University of the City of Mexico is older than Harvard. It has had relatively a small place in the history of learning. Education whether public or private is at a low ebb. The church in Mexico is often cited as a vivid illustration of that which the church probably was in parts of Europe three hundred and fifty years ago. The contrast in respect of national spirit and institutional life presented by most of these former possessions of the Spanish crown with the destiny of the colonies of England, settled at about the same time upon less-favoured portions of the same continent, gives an idea of what it means to say that for the most part the Spanish conquerors had no idea beyond that of conquest. They had no thought of founding a nation or establishing an institutional life for the benefit of their descendants in these new lands.

In less degree the same criticism may serve for the Portuguese. Still, there is a difference. When one thinks of Goa and Macao we cannot say that even the earlier Portuguese settlements did not serve the ends of trade. The Malabar coast, as it comes before us in the documents of the early Jesuits, would answer in only some particulars to the description which we have above given of the colonies of the Spanish crown. The Macao which we know best belongs indeed to a period when Portuguese merchants were fighting for their commercial existence. The rivalries of Dutch and English traders had changed conditions for all those who did business in the China seas. Yet we have to remember that it was in the wake of Portuguese traders and on the impulse of their reports that Francis Xavier, Navarrese though he was, set out on his momentous journey to Japan. It was

with Portuguese traders that he returned to breathe out his life at Sanchian, not yet having set foot upon the soil of the Chinese mainland over which he yearned. It was to Portuguese Goa that his ashes were brought. His wishes were measurably fulfilled. His missionary labours and those of his immediate successors, chiefly Italians, whether in India or Japan or China, were of far more permanent fruitfulness than were any efforts of Jesuits or Franciscans in the area of Spanish conquest which we can recall. The Portuguese settlements on the east coast of Africa had, and still have, something of the same commercial character with their settlements in the far East. They have had notable permanence. In South America, on the other hand, the Portuguese conquests accorded more nearly with the type which we have observed in the case of Spain. They were for a time a source of wealth to the mother country. Paraguay was a source of great wealth to the Jesuit Society just before the withdrawal of the charter of that Society. These South American possessions of the Portuguese were not more remote from the mother country than were some of the oriental possessions of the monarchy. They were however for a long time completely out of the stream of the great life of the world. There was lacking the wholesome rivalry of the men of other races for the possession of the Portuguese trade. The colonies were stagnant. Out of that stagnation of trade, as also of learning and religion, neither the separation of these territories one after another from Portugal, nor the benevolent empire which Brazil for a time enjoyed, nor the republic which succeeded that empire, nor the relatively peaceful history which these regions have enjoyed, as compared with their Spanish-American neighbours, have availed in any great degree to lift them. Here, too, the mingling of races very widely different one from another has taken place on a great scale and may have had to do with the diminution of the vigour of the stock. Here, too, slavery once played a great rôle and effects are visible on every side. The limited portion of society which is of pure Portuguese descent has certain lovable traits. Yet the development of these countries also seems not likely to be rapid except through the influence of foreign capital and large increase

in the number of immigrants of other races. Such an immigration will change the character of the civilization of Portuguese South America.

What shall we say of the earlier French colonization? There was an abortive attempt at the establishing of Huguenot colonies in Brazil during the stress of the Wars of Religion in France. It was wrecked not more by the Portuguese Roman Catholics in Brazil than through practical betrayal by the government of France itself. There was a similar abortive attempt at Huguenot settlement on the coast of what was later called South Carolina. Beaufort was annihilated by the Spaniards from St Augustine. The significance of these efforts lay not exactly in the fact that they were Protestant efforts. Their signifiance did lie, however, in the fact that they were attempts of a sort of which the Latin powers and the Roman Church had made as yet but few. They were attempts at settlement after the plan which the Pilgrim fathers sought to realize at Plymouth and the Puritans at Salem and Boston. They were attempts at settlement in which families were transplanted. Ideals, political, social and domestic, intellectual, ethical and religious, were being transferred from one hemisphere to another. They were being transferred in the person of those who held those ideals dear above life itself. The fact that the men were Protestants had thus much to do with their endeavour. It was the Protestants who, as things then stood in France, wished to leave France in families and communities and to leave it forever. It was the condign misfortune of France that, having at the end of the seventeenth century a great empire to develop, it shut out from that empire these men of French blood who under other conditions would have been glad to have part in its development. The Huguenots contributed everywhere to the upbuilding of institutions on the basis of their devout and patriotic convictions. They vastly enriched Holland, England, Prussia and America and even the Dutch colonies in South Africa. They lost their identity however as Frenchmen. Wherever they went they were merged as loyal citizens in the colonies of other nations. They lost their language, their identification with French civil in-

stitutions and even their direct connection with the French Protestant churches.

The history of the journeyings of French Jesuit missionaries and discoverers in America is a great romance. There are few narratives of greater heroism and devotion than that of these soldiers and priests, trappers and hunters, in the valley of the St Lawrence, in the basin of the Great Lakes and again in the valley of the Mississippi. There came a time however when, as we now clearly see, the little settlements fostered with such care were practically doomed to failure. When the period of the eager French impulse to colonization came the Bourbon centralization and bureaucracy was even more fatal to the colonies than to the life of the state at home. The underlings of absolutism decided questions which they knew nothing about. The men who knew everything about these questions and whose fortunes and life hung in the scale could do nothing. They must wait for a word from home. The development of certain English settlements in the East has been, not without humour, but also not without truth, laid to the fact that in the good old days when written question and answer covered the passage of ten months, executives used their discretion. The fate of Lally lay in the fact that he belonged to a nation which condemned him for ignoring red tape. The destiny of Clive lay in the fact that he belonged to a nation which rewarded him for doing the same, so only that he succeeded. Not even at home in France was the government patronage and control of business the source of a prosperity in any way comparable with that which followed the freedom of initiative and individual responsibility enjoyed by the citizens of Great Britain or Holland. Europe was passing from the agricultural and semifeudal conditions of the seventeenth century to the industrial conditions of the modern world. At the distance of the colonies all the benefits of a control like that to which Louis XIV and his ministers aspired were diminished and all the evils of that control were increased. It was only a new consequence of the same unhappy situation that the government of Louis XV parted with the Canadian possessions of France with apparently but the slightest idea of their worth. One has again the same impression

of surprise when he thinks of the sale of Louisiana to the United States, at the time when an emperor, credited with vast ambitions for a colonial empire of the French, had not yet reached the zenith of his power. There have been French adventurers, discoverers, traders and priests, travelling up the St Lawrence and down the Mississippi, habitants in Quebec, missionaries in George's Bay, creoles in Louisiana, administrators in India, in Madagascar and Guiana, of valour and patience worthy of all praise. These have never been sufficient to found an empire of the French social order. The French have not thus far been great builders of civilization in the waste places of the earth. It is only within the last half generation that the Republic of France has set itself with apparent resolution to the task of retrieving its earlier losses and building up, especially in Africa and in south-eastern Asia, an empire which sets before itself as its ideal the same relation to the subject populations which the British Empire has sought to realize.

Of the motives of the Dutch and British we may perhaps speak together at this stage. They had much in common. The Dutch had but a relatively small part in the problem in any case. Both nations were in the seventeenth century essentially commercial in their view of the expansion which the obvious advantages of Europe had made possible. Each had inklings of better things toward which their empires in the world should tend. Both showed themselves for a long time largely oblivious of that higher mission. The history of the British East India Company for two hundred years was almost a consistent history of the pursuit of gain at all costs and without serious regard to any other pursuit. It is a history of effort for commercial conquest and for such other conquests as might be subsidiary to that aim. The history of the company is typical. It epitomizes a stage in commercial and colonial development, of whatever nationality this has been. It introduces us to a new phase of motive. This stage differs from that of the earlier contacts of Europeans with non-European races which we have been studying. That earlier type we have called the Spanish type, although here too the question is not exactly one of nationality. In this earlier stage territorial aggrandizement,

a more or less brutal and empty military supremacy and incidentally the gain of gold, had been the ends in view. These were the aims which the almost perpetual warfare even of the Christian nations one against another in the Middle Age had set itself. They were the ends which were but thinly disguised under the glamour of romance and the religious fervour of the crusades. By the time however that the era of the participation of the Dutch and English in the colonial movement had come, ideals had changed. It was now a commercial conquest which was aimed at. This commercial supremacy might conceivably involve the necessity of territorial conquest as well. If however trade could be carried on successfully without the trader's assuming too much of a burden of territorial responsibility and without too inconvenient interference in the other relations of an alien people's life, well and good. This might be perfectly consistent with the European's confidence in the superiority of his own race and with his impression of the worthlessness of the so-called civilization of all other races. It might be compatible with his resting assured that his own was the only true religion and, not less, with his reprobation of the zeal of those who desired to impart that religion to others. It was perfectly possible for him to venerate the maxims as to men's rights and duties upon which rested the social fabric of his own home land, and never to conceive that those maxims had any bearing whatsoever upon his conduct toward the men in whose lands he came to trade.

It has been remarked that a great change came over the minds of men in Europe, after the Thirty Years War upon the Continent and after the Civil War in England. Men whose fathers fought in those wars as if such struggles had been part of an order of nature came to question, in many cases, what were the real issues involved. Men whose fathers, both Protestant and Catholic, had been conscientious persecutors came now to abhor persecution. This was not always because they were more religious. It was sometimes because they were distinctly less religious. At all events, they were religious in a different way. The basis of diplomatic relations also was changed. Peace was sought where war would formerly have been thought to be the normal

state. This was sometimes for ideal reasons. It was sometimes also for perfectly mundane and utilitarian reasons. Peace was profitable, war was expensive. Viewed in either way however we see here an application of rational principles where men had never reasoned before. It was a rationalism which was sometimes exalting and sometimes also cynical. It had come with the new age. It moved the northern races more than the Latin peoples. The reverse had been the case with the rationalism of the Renaissance, which had moved the Italians more than the Teutons. It gave new form and substance to the contacts of European nations with outlying races, just as it gave for a time a new spirit to the relation of European powers among themselves. The peoples upon the other side of the world were not to be destroyed, they were to be exploited. Their prosperity might even be furthered in order that their exploiting might be more profitable.

When finally, in that strange and yet obvious connection of affairs which the eighteenth century often illustrated, ancient animosities among the European nations broke out afresh, it was upon this new basis that England fought France all through that century. It was not because, as in the former Hundred Years War, England sought to possess France. It was because both England and France wished to possess India and Canada and parts of what is now the United States. The peace and good international relations which trade at the opening of the age of rationalism had seemed both to demand and to insure turned out to be short lived. Trade led to war. It led to wars of both British and French with the native princes in India. It led to wars between British and French in India and America. It led to wars upon the continent of Europe, upon occasion of jealousies which trade on the other side of the earth engendered. France was now the only real competitor of England in the new shape which the world-problem assumed. Commercial rivalries of the two nations in Europe demanded the shedding of blood in Asia or America. So soon as we have made those things clear to ourselves, facts pertaining to the relations of Europeans to Asiatics and to Africans and Americans, through the latter half of the seventeenth and

the whole of the eighteenth centuries, gain a new perspective. Conquest for the mere sake of conquest is obsolete. Conquest takes place, but it is incidental to commerce. It is often only superficial. Men are content to have it so. If it must needs take place it may be as little destructive as possible. If a new administration is to be set up in conquered territory, it is to be as little disturbing to social relations and to the moral and religious notions of subject peoples as possible. Possession is not exactly an end in itself. It is entered upon to open a door for trade. These ends attained, tolerance may be the best policy. The enlightenment of the policy of the British East India Company at the period of which we speak has often been praised. Yet, whatever this somewhat cynical enlightenment might achieve, there was little sympathy with the rights and ideals of other peoples. There was only a desire for the best possible conditions of trade, and often the most flippant sacrifice of the supposed convictions of the traders themselves to this end. This all might, furthermore, be compatible with the occasional use of force in a most drastic, not to say unscrupulous fashion, a fashion which the usage of nations in the West should hardly have tolerated.

There was a dream cherished by some students of European social conditions so lately as, for example, by Herbert Spencer. It was that an age of industrialism, succeeding to an age of militarism, would assure peace. It would bring about disarmament. It would conserve many forces and enhance many interests of humanity of which the eras of conquest have been blindly destructive. Now however in the retrospect of even one generation of unparalleled competition, as between classes within the same nation and of one nation with another, there appears to us something almost naïve in that assumption. Has an industrial and commercial society been less reckless of human life and health and happiness than an age like the Napoleonic, when Europe seemed for the moment to have reverted to the ambitions of a Tamerlane or of an Alaric? Similarly one may say that it has proved to some extent an illusion that our relations to alien nations would always be less hostile and our conduct less overweening, more kindly and responsible, than in the

old days of conquest. There have been indeed at all times some traders and administrators and soldiers who, in their relation to oriental peoples, have fulfilled these hopes. For common humanity, the temptation seems often to have been too great. Be the causes what they may, we have lived to see a revival of militarism in Europe which our fathers would never have imagined. In some nations this revival of militarism frankly declared itself as the means of the vindication of commercial rights, of the assertion of commercial claims, of the extension of commercial power, without which, it was said, the nation at home could not provide for its own population or fulfil its destiny. In some cases the same militarism has used the language of mediævalism about divine right and even harked back to the ideals of the period of the invasion of the barbarians and the fall of the Roman Empire. In some cases these two apparently mutually exclusive ideas are yet cherished together, in more or less obscure relation the one to the other. We have suffered budgets for armies and navies which seemed to devour a large part of the profits of business, no matter how profitable the business might be. In the end we have come to a conflict which in greater or less degree involves the whole world. It is a struggle the magnitude of which makes all other wars seem trivial by comparison. Its losses whether of money or of men threaten to impoverish the earth and to compromise the future for an incalculable period. The excuses which have been put forth with vociferousness have by most been dismissed with incredulity or even contempt. The causes are complex. In some cases they are still hidden. There are reasons dynastic and related to the supremacy of class. The ideals of two ages are in conflict. Yet beyond question the moving passions which have had to do with the issue are those which have to do with trade. They are moreover those which, in particular degree, have to do with the opening of the East to the trade of the West. In a profound sense Asia and the European contacts with Asia are among the causes of the world war in Europe. So far is it from being illogical that Asia takes part in the European strife. It would be utterly illogical should she not do so.

To put it differently, has not, to each one of the western

powers, though in varying degree, its ascendancy in trade and particularly in eastern trade become one of the main questions of its welfare in life? For many reasons the population of the great states of Europe has, with a few exceptions, increased enormously since the Napoleonic era. Despite the emigration from these countries into the more open spaces of the world, into America, Canada and Australia and Africa, the number of mouths at home is still in portentous relation to the quantity of food produced. In Great Britain the numbers of the population have long since ceased to have any relation to the food produced in the British Isles. The emigration from Great Britain has been however, in disastrous degree, from her very best. The opening and keeping open the road to the sources of food supply on the one hand, and to markets for the distribution of manufactured products on the other, is an economic necessity which admits of no parleying. The creating and maintaining of the conditions of profitable investment at the ends of the earth for a capital which it was no longer possible to employ at home, has been a source of enrichment to the home lands and, as well, a cause of the development of the foreign lands concerned. Such investment has been aided by unexampled extension of the means of communication in our day, as also it has in turn occasioned that extension. It is in part responsible for that tendency towards the reproduction of one type of civilization throughout the world whereby our age stands in such marked contrast to any previous age. It has however enormously increased the risks of nations which they carry far beyond their own borders. Through these risks the nations are exposed to the machinations and competitions of neighbours who may at any moment become enemies. It is a process which accounts for the British possession, fortunate or unfortunate, as we may choose to see it, of Hong Kong and Wei Hai Wei, of Aden and Singapore, of Gibraltar and Bermuda, for the protectorate over Egypt in the interest of the canal and for many other things which, to say the least, excite jealousy of other peoples and constitute the points, or at least some of the points, of a "far flung battle line" which might, in certain circumstances, become most difficult to maintain. Conflicts at Colombo

and Penang even before the war might be cited as evidence, if evidence were required. The career of the "Emden" and the ending of that career at Cocos Island by the "Sidney" is spectacular proof. The repeated struggle which we have witnessed within twenty years for the possession of Port Arthur has been to but insignificant degree a struggle against the Chinese who, one almost needs to remind himself, are the nominal owners of Port Arthur to-day. That which is here visualized is the struggle of Japan and Russia for that which each had come to regard as a necessary protection for its expanding trade and more particularly a bulwark upon the main land without which Japan, at least, as a world power could not exist.

What have we here but the fighting out, in one last stupendous struggle, under modern conditions, of old European rivalries, which are no longer largely dynastic but economic, and upon Asiatic, African and possibly American territory. Even before the war we said many times that these rivalries might only too easily lead some day to violence concerning which, on the merits of the case, we had most of us come to a new and better mind, a truer view of humanity as a whole, a real will for universal progress. It was surely true before the war, it is surely true now in spite of the war, it will be still more true after the war, that ever larger classes in every nation occupy themselves with thoughts of peace and of the amelioration of the life of the race as a whole. We had moments of thinking that international relations were never more intimate, more safe and salutary, than just before the war. Even by the war we are not altogether put to confusion. The war is only an episode, although it is so monstrous that it requires faith to see it in this way. It may further the real conditions of peace. We often find it hard to get a free hand. It is no easier now than at other times, for us or for other men, to do the good we would. It is so much more difficult to do good as nations than as individuals. We are drawn aside from our better purposes. We are at cross purposes with our better selves. We do harm when we had set before ourselves the highest good. The war only illustrates on a colossal scale that which sober minds had often felt in the days of peace. All of this has

to be taken into account in a sober characterization of the opening of the twentieth century. It is this which has made it difficult to sum up the progress of the nineteenth century in one thesis. It is often difficult to decide in which direction we are moving. It is impossible to paint altogether in glowing colours. It would be equally foolish if we should paint only in dark colours. Even before the fatal summer of 1914 it often seemed as if we were on the verge of a catastrophe wherein many of the tendencies of which we spoke in this lecture would be reversed and much of that for which all humanity had laboured would be temporarily lost. Now that the catastrophe has come it is for us to see to it that the loss is only temporary. It is for us to pledge ourselves even now in this difficult time that the gain shall more than offset even such a loss.

LECTURE II

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM—MOTIVES—RELATION TO OTHER MOVEMENTS—COMPARISON WITH EARLIER PERIODS

We dwelt in the first lecture upon the expansion of Europe to the ends of the earth, but especially in the Orient. The movement began indeed four hundred and fifty years ago. As an outward event the process was completed in the nineteenth century. As an inner transformation, political, social, intellectual and spiritual, it is still in the full tide of progress. We found ourselves using the phrases expansion of Europe, extension of Christendom, to describe the two aspects of the process which are hinted above. In one sense the words depict the enlargement of the area of actual sovereignty of the European states, or else of territories inhabited and governed by men of European descent. Some of the latter may have achieved independence of the mother countries. In the perspective of history that independence seems but incidental. On the other hand, we saw that those words connote a growing ascendancy of European ideas, a prevalence of European influences, a dominance of European standards of life, political, social and intellectual. This sovereignty of the mind of Europe has sometimes been achieved as the ripe fruit of an earlier establishment of outward European sway. In other places it has been achieved without reference to such sway or even as a means of preventing the establishment of such sway. The words indicate in this case an assimilation, primarily of the inner life, of the eastern nations under the impulse of a certain dominant group of western peoples. This assimilation is now taking place with ever-increasing rapidity and thoroughness. It is an assimilation which goes far beyond the conscious purposes of western peoples in their contacts with the East. It manifests itself in elements of the life of the eastern nations

in which they now seek to imitate the West. It shows itself in aspects of life in which they both, Europeans and Asiatics alike, are only partially aware of the great change which is passing over them. An empire of the spirit of the West has thus been established far beyond the limits of the empire of its arms. It is an empire which has now often only indirect relation to the commercial dominance of European states. Indeed, its relation to the western empires both of arms and of trade, is sometimes that of antagonism and of increasingly effective rivalry.

We endeavoured briefly to suggest the contribution of various European peoples to this movement. We found that before the end of the eighteenth century the movement had passed through two distinct stages which illustrated successive historic motives. The first and crudest was that of mere territorial aggrandizement. The second was that which set before itself preponderantly commercial aims. We saw that before the beginning of the nineteenth century the movement was entering upon a third stage. The ideal of this new era I have ventured to describe is that of assimilation. The first period, that of conquest, had not been without its aims in trade. The second was not without its share in the spirit of conquest. On the contrary, some of the most significant of the conquered areas were added during the era which we have denominated that of trade. Similarly, the third stage which we are now to describe has carried forward with characteristic modifications the ideals of the other two. The movement has, during the nineteenth century, by no means ceased to be a movement of conquest. The century has been marked by wars in the old areas of occupation and by discoveries and subjugation in areas before unknown. There have been ominous rivalries of European states for the possession of outlying territories. There has been abundant occupation for soldiers and diplomatists. Again, the nineteenth century has not merely maintained, it has enormously enhanced trade. It has witnessed an extension of commerce vastly greater than that which took place during the period when almost the sole aim was commerce. The momentum of the movement has been shown in both of these regards. Inventions and

scientific discoveries which have marked the nineteenth century in the West, the improvement of the means of transportation and communication, with the increase both of population and of capital in the nations of the West, have affected contacts with the East in both of the directions named. The territorial aggrandizement and commercial ascendancy in the East which the West has gained during the nineteenth century make those of the previous centuries seem small in comparison.

Nevertheless, the striking fact about our movement in the nineteenth century, that which differentiates this century from those which went before, is that conquest and commerce have been by no means the only motives in the contacts of West and East. New purposes have emerged. These new aims are complex and not easy to define. They are, however, quite characteristic of the modern era. They reverse to a certain extent the standards and practices of previous ages. A new significance has been attached to the conception of humanity as a whole. There has been a new sense of the rights of the races lying beyond the familiar confines of Europe and of the duties of Europeans to these races. There has been a new sense of the rights of the weaker nations and of the duties of the strong. There has been a new appreciation of civilizations alien to our own, of ancient cultures contrasting with our own and of religions different from our own. Men have been animated in a new way by the sense that there is that which we may give to the peoples with whom we come in contact and, as well, there is that which we may gain from them. Men have been animated in a new way by a sense of the largeness of that which we have to give, of the many ways in which the life of Europe differs from that of the rest of the world and, as well, of the many aspects of the life of Asia which may be profoundly serviceable to Europe and to the rest of the world.

The nations have, as we said, pursued, during the nineteenth century, the old ends both of conquest and of trade. They have been, however, increasingly conscious that these could not be their exclusive aims. There has been at times indeed, even in the case of the better nations, a mingling of purposes which ranged all the way from the most sordid to

the loftiest. This commingling of aims has led to international hypocrisies, to diplomatic shams and to wars of aggression under pretence of philanthropy. Yet even these deplorable episodes evince the growing prevalence of a new standard of international relations. There would have been no occasion for such hypocrisies had there been no voice of conscience in the men themselves and no sense of the demand of the consciences of other men. There would have been simply the naïve brutality which used to prevail, varied by occasional evidences of kindness of heart. There has been, in fact, an increasing feeling of responsibility and an honest desire for the good of peoples ruled over or traded with. Military and commercial policies have been held accountable to the public sentiment of the nations immediately concerned and, as well, to a growing international sentiment, in a manner of which the eighteenth century had no conception. Certain large phases of official action of governments in the West toward the races of the East and South have been animated by good-will. Furthermore, individuals have gone forth in large numbers from the nations of the West to the peoples of the East as the emissaries, not merely of religion, but of charity and of philanthropy, of education and healing and reform, in short, consecrating themselves to the bestowal of every form of human good. They have given their labour and their lives to the conferment of that good. Societies have been formed and grown to great proportions, in every country in the West, for the pursuance of these aims. Such societies have been almost uniformly independent of government and of the usual organizations of trade. They have sometimes been in conflict with government and with the organizations for trade. They have brought aspects of government policy, or again actions in commerce which they felt called upon to censure, to the attention of the public at home in a manner which has frequently been inconvenient to the authorities. They have compelled a hearing for the protest of the injured and oppressed. We are not bound to claim that they have always been correct in their judgments. On the contrary, they may have been at times ill-informed as to the facts and unpractical in their theories. They may have been limited in their own horizon and censorious in

their speech. Yet even only in this negative aspect of criticism and resistance these societies and individuals have made by their work great contribution to the life of the East. They have mitigated evil influences from the West. They have done their part to change the whole temper of the contacts of West and East. They have had their share in altering the policies of governments and trading companies. In the positive activities to which they have given themselves, however, they have vastly enlarged the area of influence of the West upon the East and multiplied the creative and beneficial impulses. They have placed the whole movement upon a higher level and given it broader purposes. We are interested in alluding to them here as indices of a change of mind which, about the beginning of the period of which we speak, passed over Europe and America, and introduced into the contacts of West and East the new and characteristic elements which we are seeking to describe. In both public policies and private conduct this change made itself manifest. Such changes of mind make themselves felt most easily in democratic countries. There has been however throughout the nineteenth century an ever-growing public sentiment which has supported governments and commercial leaders and, as well, philanthropic societies and individuals, in endeavours which the eighteenth century would hardly have understood and the seventeenth century would never have imagined. The aim has really been, on the part of many men in the West, to confer upon other lands all that they esteemed best for themselves. On the whole, and despite many reprehensible episodes in the history of our movement in the nineteenth century, there have been large parts of it also which have been filled with the spirit of wisdom and self-sacrifice.

By natural consequence also, wherever this change of attitude has been felt, there has been corresponding change in the mind of the peoples of the East and again of Africa and the islands, towards the civilization of the West. With mixed motives, indeed, these peoples have yielded themselves to the influence of that civilization. The change was slow and wavering at first. Advances which Orientals made were met sometimes with sad rebuff. In their confidences

they have at times been lamentably undeceived. Nevertheless, this change of attitude upon the part of orientals themselves has become a very potent factor. Some aspects of our civilization, as, for example, the secrets of military and naval supremacy, have been sought by oriental peoples directly and frankly, because they have intended to put themselves upon a footing from which they could defend themselves against the West. Western education, on the other hand, has been sought not merely because of its obvious relation to the mastery of nature and so to the prosperity of nations. It has been sought because of its contribution to the inner life of men and because of its obvious relation to the intercourse with the world which the oriental nations, so isolated in their tradition, have now come to regard as most desirable. The political ideas of the West, the social organization of the West, the moral maxims of the West, and even the religious faith of the West, have come to be objects of keenest inquiry among peoples who, two generations ago, neither had nor wished any knowledge concerning them. With the spread of this knowledge, with the adoption of these maxims, with the adjustment of life less and more to these standards, there has come to pass an actual assimilation of the life of the East to that of the West which is one of the most striking characteristics of our age. It is for this reason that we have called our new period, the nineteenth century, the period of assimilation, in contrast with the earlier periods of conquest and of trade.

Before, however, we enter further upon this discrimination, there is one allusion which we must yet make. It is the reference to the Russian Empire and its Asiatic relations as these were before the war. Russia is the one great European nation whose enlargement of territory and influence we have not touched upon. It is the one from whose eastern possessions we have thus far taken no illustrations. It is the one whose place in the analysis of motive which we are attempting we have not until now been prepared to assign. Yet Russia was the only nation in Europe which up to the time of the war rivalled Great Britain in respect of territorial possessions in Asia, as France is the only nation which holds comparison with England in

Africa. In contrast with Great Britain, it is a continuous land-empire which Russia has sought to build up. She has lacked the seafaring spirit and the commercial motive for the building up of an empire the highways of which are the oceans. On the contrary, Russia has overrun in her turn the vast plateaus of northern and central Asia from which, only a few centuries ago, poured the Mongol hordes which pillaged and imperilled her. She had been impelled to her conquests by a religious feeling which was almost as acute as is the racial antagonism. The adherents of the Russian branch of the Greek Church have subjugated in Asia shaman pagans, Buddhists and followers of Islam. They have alternately aided and oppressed, both in Asia and Europe, the representatives of the other branches of the Orthodox Church, playing the part of their protector in the territories of Russia's enemies and oppressing them when they were under the Russian crown. They have persecuted Jews, hated Latins and suspected Protestants. Russia holds Turkestan and threatens Persia. She impinges upon China and has obvious grounds for rivalry with Japan. She long since reached the Pacific in the Amur province and once cast longing eyes upon Korea. She has fought a disastrous war with Japan for the possession of the Liao Tung peninsula and incidentally surrendered to Japan the mastery of the neighbouring seas. Had the issue of that war been a Russian victory Japan herself would surely have suffered serious limitations at the hands of Russia. Russia overshadows Mongolia and could easily intervene in things Chinese. The pressure of Russia upon the Ottoman Empire, with reference especially to the former European possessions of the Turk, has had international significance. It occasioned the Crimean war and began the war of 1877. It had appeared possible that causes of like conflicts in the future had been diminished by the successful revolt of the Balkan allies in 1912-13, because the possessions of Turkey in Europe were reduced to Constantinople and its immediate vicinity. On the other hand, the events of 1912-13 made it easily conceivable that, as England and France once sustained the Turk against Russia, so the new Teutonic friends of the Turk might sustain the Porte against the Czar and his allies, should the

Balkan troubles lead to the general European conflict which had long been feared. It is exactly this which happened in 1914. The Young Turks, in the lead of the constitutionalists, had exchanged masters for the more masterful. The fate of Constantinople hangs in the balance. Russia was still more an object of fear on the side of the Asiatic possessions of the sultan, as the war in the Caucasus shows. Men had thought also in the past with anxiety of the long line of frontier between her and British India, or at least between her and the feeble buffer states. The war and, still more, the revolution, has raised concerning Russia and her empire questions which as yet have no answer. Yet it is inconceivable but that sooner or later the Russian state will be reconstituted in some form. Her great Asiatic possession, Siberia, may play a great part in that reconstruction.

Her empire was dominated by Russia with a rigour which was perhaps unparalleled in the foreign administration of any European state, except perhaps in that of Germany. The Asiatic dominion of Russia was influenced by the characteristic life of Europe far less than was any other greater area under European dominion, and far less than some Asiatic areas which, like Japan, had never fallen under European dominion at all. This is partly due to the backward state of many of the races which Russia governs in Asia. It is partly because of the relation of Russia itself to European civilization. It is partly because the Russian administration in Asia seemed not to be animated save in the smallest way by any other idea than that of domination.

It is not as though Russian domination had always been without good results. No one can pass from Chinese Mongolia into Siberia without seeing the advantage of a strong government over a weak. Nor would we deny the value of some efforts which the Russian government has made in the direction of education. In Kazan, for example, she had set before her by Ilminsky a project for the real education of her Moslem subjects. Always, however, both the civil order and the educational wore the aspect of Russification. The aim was to weave closer and closer the strong net in which the provinces are held. This was in large part the secret of the failure of efforts of the government on behalf of education,

efforts which, as one talks with enthusiastic and cultivated Russian citizens, he realizes are well meant. The extreme to which such a policy may be carried was witnessed in the Baltic provinces. There the contrast between Russian purposes and the instincts of the people inherited from the Swedish and German period, would be ridiculous, were it not pathetic and terrible. This idea of Russification was the Moloch to which the children of the provinces everywhere were sacrificed. It is curious to reflect in this connection that although Germans have perhaps suffered most in the Russification of the Baltic provinces, yet Germanization had been the prime aim of the German colonial administration in many places, in a degree which had subordinated all other efforts and occasioned some of the difficulties which the imperial policy had met.

That which we are saying in this paragraph would not be complete should we not add a word concerning the growth of the colonial power of Germany and the extension of its commerce until the time of the opening of the present war. Especially notable had been, as we have said, the enhancement of German influence in the Ottoman Empire. Until after the death of Bismarck, the German Empire seems to have entertained no colonial aspirations. The consolidation of the empire within itself with the vindication of its place in Europe seemed to be its one purpose. It is one of the curiosities of modern history that in those very years in which Germany, in consequence of the war of 1870, was everywhere in Europe in the ascendant, while France was despoiled and prostrate, the latter nevertheless inaugurated colonial enterprises in Africa which the Germans have since looked upon with jealousy. These enterprises have added to France in Morocco alone a population considerably in excess of that of France itself, and in point of territory have placed republican France next after England and Russia in the rank of the imperial powers of the western world. The increase of wealth in Germany, as also the extraordinary increase of its population, the growth of its manufactures and commerce, with the necessity of foreign markets, did much to alter the German view of expansion. More and more Germany came to measure herself with England and

not as formerly chiefly with France. More and more she sought to develop a navy and alleged that her empire must be upon the sea. Despite the fact that Great Britain supported Turkey against Russia in the Crimean War, the pressure which England had from time to time exerted upon the Ottoman Empire had been more decisive, as it was certainly also more consistent and more effective, than that ever used by Russia. In recent years also England and Russia had stood with France in friendly relations, if not in actual alliance, as over against Germany and Austria and the dangers which the so-called Triple Alliance had been supposed to involve. It was therefore not surprising that, especially since the revolution, the minds of the rulers of Turkey had turned to the Germans and, on the other hand, the Germans had readily found in the Ottoman Empire the field for an extension of influence which they much desired. This influence was everywhere in evidence at Constantinople and in Asia Minor. The commerce of Germany with the ports of Asia Minor had greatly increased. Railways had been built, to some extent with German capital but more largely still with capital borrowed from both France and England. They had been built however upon concessions made to the German government and they were very largely administered by Germans. The railway from Damascus to Medina and Mecca was of high importance for the Mohammedan world. The road which was building to Bagdad however, whose terminus was to be at some point on the Persian Gulf, was clearly of still greater importance, not alone for the Ottoman Empire but for the commerce and influence of the German Empire in the East. So long ago as in 1898, the German emperor, visiting Jerusalem as well as Constantinople, established friendly relations with the sultan, Abdul Hamid II, relations which continued under Mohammed V, with the Young Turks. The reorganization of the Ottoman army was under German leadership. The Turkish army did not give a very good account of itself in either of the Balkan wars. That fact was however declared to be due to a failure of Turkish leadership rather than to the quality or training of the Turkish troops. In this present war the Turks have

fought very largely under German leadership and have made a very different showing. We have thus to realize that while England and Russia had been busied of recent years in the Far East, Germany had been acquiring a great influence in the Near East. The struggle in the Balkan Peninsula had showed how near that East now is to Europe. It had warned men how difficult it would be to prevent Balkan problems and even those of the Ottoman Empire from becoming the problems of Europe itself. The new Turkey was eminently jealous of its independence, at all events as against its former friends. The Germans naturally made every effort to foster that spirit of independence as over against Russia on the one hand and England on the other. In point of relation to the military and commercial development of new Turkey, Germany had acquired a power which made of both Germany and Turkey factors in the Asiatic world. Despite the ascendancy of England in Egypt, the khedive was still, until the war, nominally a vassal of the sultan. Egypt and the Suez Canal were not therefore wholly independent of the Turk or of those who influenced the Turk. It was clear that the extension of the Bagdad Railway to the Persian Gulf would make the Suez Canal to be no longer the only way to the British outposts in India. It would open a land route for commerce or for arms which would be a new element to be reckoned with in the Asiatic world.

Finally, we cannot overlook the fact that the issue of the Japanese-Russian war raised up in Asia itself a power which is certain to have untold influence upon the development of Asia. Japan is profoundly Asiatic but, in the sense of this discussion, it is an influence for the Europeanizing of Asia which she exerts. It is by dint of a military and naval force and of an industrial and commercial development the secrets of which she learned from Europe, that Japan has been able overwhelmingly to defeat a great European state, to which she has meantime again become allied and to take her place in the first rank of the nations of the world. She has become a nation able to influence all questions whatsoever throughout the world and certain to influence powerfully all questions which relate to eastern Asia. Japan, in spite of her victory, was prostrate at the end of the war with Russia. Yet

Japan seems to have realized immediately that her future could not be wholly in Japan. She has worked unceasingly for the consolidation of her territorial dominion and also for the enlargement of her influence upon the mainland over against her own shores. She has worked unceasingly for the development of a commercial marine by which she now largely dominates the Pacific. She has worked unceasingly for the strengthening of her navy upon which, as truly as in the case of England, everything depends. In some respects her situation is strikingly like that in which England stood at the end of the eighteenth century. The conflict of Japan with China, which came to its decision in 1894, was an ancient inheritance. The conflict with Russia, which came to its decision ten years later, was indeed forced upon Japan by the aggression of Russia, but it was also incidental to an expansion of Japan both by land and sea which had become inevitable. The grudge which the Japanese bore against the Russians for their part in defrauding her of the proceeds of her victory, after the treaty of Shimonoseki, was soon forgotten. The grudge against Germany for her share in the same affair was long cherished. It partially accounts for the fact that Germany, of all the powers in Europe, has exerted least influence upon the recent development of Japan. On the contrary, in partial consequence of the moral support of Great Britain extended to Japan during the Russian war, Great Britain has exerted a growing influence which has borne fruit in actual participation of Japan as a belligerent in the present war, an activity which has however thus far been directed mainly against German possessions in Asia. In the sense of this argument then, we may say that there were before the world-war five great nations which together exerted an incalculable influence for the extension of the influence of Europe in Asia, and curiously enough one of those was an Asiatic power, Japan. The other four powers were Great Britain, Russia, France and Germany. Certainly the influence of the United States upon China, as also earlier upon Japan, should not be ignored.

We had characterized the third phase of the great movement of the expansion of Europe as that of assimilation.

We paused to delineate the part which the Russian Empire has had in this movement. We appended a paragraph concerning the two newest comers into this group of powers influential upon Asia. If we were right in that which we said, the Russian conquests in Asia did not yet reveal in high degree motives which go beyond those of the earliest phase of Asiatic contacts, that is, the motive of conquest. The influence of Germany upon the coast of China, in Africa, and more particularly in the Ottoman Empire, revealed in high degree the motive of commerce. It had also the unmistakable traits of an intended enlargement of political influence. Turkey was to be made subservient to the ambitions of Germany for the establishment of a world-empire. Concerning the influence of Germany for the assimilation of the Ottoman Empire to the highest elements in European life the movement was too new to admit of judgment as yet upon that point. The Germans had high self-consciousness as to their culture, but there was little evidence that in any of her outlying possessions her aim had as yet transcended that of trade and of dynastic considerations. Something of the same sort might be said with regard to the contacts of Japan with Mongolia and Manchuria. With reference to Korea, on the other hand, there is evidence, in educational matters, for example, that she proposes to subject Korea to the same kind of Europeanizing to which she has subjected herself. We were saying of this movement of measurable assimilation of Asia and Africa to the life of Europe, that some men of the West had come to desire to bring strangers into touch with the larger aspects and inner principles of their own civilization. They had really wished to bestow the enlightenment which goes with that civilization and the social and moral principles which belong to it. They had purposed to go below the surface of their own life and to get beneath the surface of the life of other peoples. They had planned not merely to dominate aliens and not merely to trade with strange peoples. They had really endeavoured to cause these peoples to cease to be strangers to all that we hold precious. They had aimed themselves to become less oblivious of that which other races hold dear. With the rising sentiment of humanity there has come a sense of

obligation to mankind as a whole. There has come an appreciation of duty to the whole of humanity. Men have aimed not to tyrannize over other men and not merely to exploit them. The best have aimed to civilize, to enlighten and to elevate, whithersoever with their conquests or their commerce they have gone.

We have laboured however to avoid the use of the word "civilize." We cannot speak of the effort to civilize the Asiatic nations without being reminded that this phrase has been associated with assumptions all too poorly grounded. It has been used by those who have smugly taken for granted the incomparable worth of our own civilization and manifested ignorance and prejudice touching the civilizations of other peoples. Exactly those who do least credit to our own culture have been most ready to assert that there is no other worthy of the name. Precisely those who have known least of other religions have been most intolerant in the propaganda for their own. The altruistic movement both in its missionary aspect and again in its more general benevolent phase has been therefore, at times, one in which a patronage almost insulting represented our best mood, while a readiness to lay violent hands on men and reform them even against their will revealed our worst. This has been indeed a trying phase of the nineteenth century movement. Human nature being what it is, it is probable that such an aberration was inevitable, as the movement with which we are dealing passed from the stage of mere conquest, or else of exploitation, to that in which men have set before themselves more or less consciously the aim of the assimilation of the whole world to standards which the experience of the whole world has revealed to be best. It is because men have not always phrased to themselves in this large way the end toward which they were moving, that they have been guilty of conduct injurious to their own aim. They have too easily assumed that the standard familiar to themselves was that which the experience of the world had revealed to be best. The aberrations of which we have been speaking cannot be accepted as revealing the deep underlying spirit of the movement. They have afforded passing evidence of our provincialism. To put it still more pungently, they have given convincing proof of

the imperfection of the civilization and the inadequacy of the view of religion which we were nevertheless so eager to impose on others. Civilization, so-called, has now and then been thrust upon nations of less favoured climes with almost as much bigotry as has religion, although the would-be reformers and humanitarians probably for themselves eschewed religion and esteemed religionists the only bigots. Civil and social and economic reforms have been offered as infallible in the same good faith as have dogmas and ecclesiasticism and, we might add, with the same bad result. As to both processes or, to speak more accurately, as to both exemplifications of one and the same process, we might say that the wonder is not that the issues have been unfortunate. The wonder is that the consequences have not proved even worse than they have.

It will be seen, therefore, why we have not chosen the word civilization to describe our idea of the third phase of this movement of the expansion of Europe. We are seeking a name for the new phase which we are contrasting with conquest on the one hand and commerce on the other. We deplore the associations of the term civilization in this connection. We would not imply that Europeans first conferred civilization upon the oriental peoples. We do not claim to be the first to introduce non-Christian peoples to real religion. We do not allege that the peoples to whom we have gone have had no religion. We do not assume that we ourselves have perfectly understood religions or even our own religion. The word Christianization, in so far as we allow ourselves to use it, will not signify merely the adoption on the part of eastern races of the dogmas or ritual of western churches. Similarly the word civilization if introduced here at the threshold of our discussion, would both say some things which we do not mean and would likewise leave unsaid some things which we do wish strongly to assert. We have chosen rather the word assimilation. We may acknowledge the crudities which have sometimes been manifested in the course of our movement in the nineteenth century. We may thus give vent to our disapproval and seek to set ourselves right with peoples whom we have wronged. Yet this is only one aspect of the matter. There

have been also grand civilizing endeavours which have been attended with marked success. There have been exalted religious efforts which have resulted in notable moral and spiritual transformations. We are merely trying to view them as parts of a larger whole. There has been a most impressive tendency in the direction of that which we have called assimilation. There has been an aim actuating, as never before, the best spirits of the West to give of their best. There have been very great achievements in the line of this purpose. Furthermore, there has been a great uprising and outgoing on the part of the peoples of the East to meet this good intent. The results are manifold. They almost overwhelm the traveller to-day in China, especially if he is sufficiently well read to be able to compare his impressions with those embodied in a classic work like Williams' Middle Kingdom or the Recollections of the Abbé Huc. The ends of the earth are coming in ever larger degree to have a common life. There is something almost awe-inspiring in the volume and resistlessness which the movement has assumed. It is a movement toward the prevalence of one general type of mind and life wherever the sun shines. At times when we are discouraged at the thought of the vicious and vulgar aspects of our own civilization, we ask ourselves, is it fated that this dreadful uniformity shall everywhere prevail? Shall a civilization no better than our own make an end of all that is beautiful in the other civilizations and impose upon all peoples its own dreadful traits? Shall it, with its brutal and despicable qualities, its unredeemed barbarity and sordidness, overrun the earth?

Already, however, the counter current is visible. The movement no longer seeks to suppress the individuality of men and races. On the contrary, there is an ever increasing degree of insight and understanding upon the part of those who formerly imagined no way but their own. The intelligent, at all events, are being taught to abate pretension and to accept rebuke for patronage and provincialism. On the other hand, much stimulus has been given to the individuality of oriental races. New emphasis has been laid upon the *naturel* of peoples. We spoke in the last lecture as if the fact that this tremendous impact of the West coincided

with a resurgence of the spirit of the East were merely an accident. The relation is, however, not merely an adventitious one. It is one of cause and effect. The impact which at first threatened to carry everything before it has quickened the self-consciousness, aroused the resistance and developed the individuality of the eastern races. At all events, we behold the impressive spectacle of quickened and self-conscious peoples, who yet seek nothing so ardently as that they may express themselves through forms of government and social life, of culture and even of faith, which they did not originate, of which they have been jealous, but which in some sense they now regard as necessary to the fulfilment of themselves and essential to the maintenance of their proper independence as over against us. The world is being moulded indeed to one type of mind and life. This is however a type to which not one group of races alone but all races contribute, in their degree, the elements. The world is being moulded to one type of mind and life, but it is no longer mainly through force or fraud. It is not through the resolve of one party to these contacts to override the other. It is not through a dull and passive imitation on the part of that other. It is through an active participation on the part of both. It is through a living reproduction of the old under new and ever varying conditions. We have not to look forward to a dull prevalence of the western type of civilization in the East, with stupid and lifeless copying of its good and no proper repudiation of its evil. Evil sufficient there will always be, so long as men are what they now are. Good also there will be, by the same sign. The whole humanity is to help each race in the confirmation of its good and in the overcoming of its evil. Certain elements in our civilization appear to be destined to be everywhere felt. They will enter however into combination with elements drawn from other civilizations. We have passed beyond the stage in which the result depends largely upon the urgency of Europe and America in outgiving and outgoing. The result is no longer limited to the conscious intention of Asiatics or Africans to receive and to adopt. Unconscious forces are at work to the same end. We may rejoice in these facts or we may deprecate them. We may

be eager to go on with the movement or we may have moments when we wish that we could go back. We certainly do wish that our own civilization were better than it is if it is to become so large a factor in the civilization of others. We gladly own that there was much that was great and beautiful in the civilizations which we are partially displacing. At all events, we must recognize the facts of the case. We must admit that this assimilation is taking place. We must lend our aid that it may take place in the best way.

We said at the beginning that there have been two instrumentalities which have done each its best to contribute to this assimilative process. These are, on the one hand, the civilizing and educational and reforming tendency, properly so-called, and on the other hand, the missionary movement, with its dominantly religious aims, which movement has nevertheless run out into education, philanthropy and reform and has been characterized by the effort at amelioration of the life of men in every way. It is interesting to reflect that, save upon the part of the Roman Catholic Church, and even here in somewhat limited way, the religious element did not enter into our movement in the age of conquest, nor even very largely in that which we have called the period of trade. It was reserved to be injected into the movement in the period of assimilation. Protestant missions had but the smallest part in our movement until the end of the eighteenth century, Roman Catholic missions have undergone a great revival in the nineteenth century, Greek Catholic missions like that to Japan have come into being only near the end of the nineteenth century. Modern missions have had great part in the work of assimilation. Yet here also, in the religious sphere, it is impressive to note a parallel with the other phases of our movement. In the missionary movement also the first stages were animated by a desire of conquest. The Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries intended to displace the other faiths. Protestant missionaries until far down into the nineteenth century were largely animated by the same view. Victory for the Christian faith was the thing sought. The hymns of the early missionary movement bear witness to this apprehension. The phraseology of conquest

survives in missionary advocacy to this hour. Expulsion of the other faiths was the thing expected. The desertion of those faiths, in the end, by all of their adherents was the thing hoped and prayed for. The missions have indeed been among the greatest of the agencies in the work of assimilation which we are seeking to describe. Yet they once ardently intended aggrandizement, the aggrandizement of the great Roman Catholic Church with its exclusive claims, the aggrandizement of the various Protestant denominations, whose various claims seem to us now almost mutually exclusive. The missions have been among the greatest of the agencies in the work of assimilation. Candour requires us, however, to say that at the beginning they sought mainly to establish sovereignties of their respective faiths. One may still hear the word crusade applied to the Christian propaganda and, what is most surprising of all, one finds this word used to describe the approach of Christianity to Moslem lands. One is left wondering whether the Christians have no memories, or whether they imagine that the followers of the Prophet have none.

We spoke of the transition from the first to the second period, from that of the ideal of conquest to that of the ideal of commerce. We thought we saw that one great influence in that transformation was the prevalence of rationalism. It is very suggestive that exactly the period of the rise of deism saw the great enlargement of Dutch and English trade. Now it is equally evident that there is a connection between our third period, which we have called that of assimilation, and the rise of the new humanism. This name, "the new humanism," has been given to a tendency in European thought which characterized the end of the eighteenth century. It has made itself felt in a thousand ways all through the nineteenth century. It may be said to have had its secret in an altered view of the relation of man to nature and God, and so also of men among themselves. Early endeavours after the establishment of international law and the labours of pioneers in the study of economics recurred often to what men called the principles of human nature. Students of philosophy and of religion,

from the deists onward, laid great emphasis upon the idea of that which is human. The contention for that which was human became the stated foil, one might say, in the discussion of almost every subject, for the traditional claim concerning the divine. The rights of men were set over against the divine authority claimed for state and church. The rights of reason were set over against revealed theology and metaphysics. The natural was the great watchword and catchword in the debate against the supernatural. This emphasis upon the human ended in the great cry of the French Revolution for liberty, equality and fraternity. Despite the discredit which the revolution brought upon its own pretensions, Europe has never gone back. We are far enough from having eradicated the conditions which make against liberty, equality and fraternity. Yet the humanitarian ideal had its place in every great movement at the end of the eighteenth century. It has had its place in every great movement throughout the course of the nineteenth.

One point however is worthy of emphasis for our argument. All through the period when so much was being made in Europe of the reference to human nature as the fundamental thing, it seems to have occurred to but few that men outside of Europe had the same human nature. Whilst the air of Europe was ringing with the cry of humanity, it appears to have suggested itself to but few that the Eskimo on his ice-bound coasts, the North American Indian in his forest, the African in his jungle and, for that matter, upon the white man's own plantation in America, belonged, all of them, to the same humanity. In the day when men argued so eloquently at Versailles about the rights of man and set all Europe fighting for the vindication of those rights, it seems to have occurred to but few that Hottentots and Malays and Chinese, the motley array of peoples over the whole earth, the peoples whom Europe governed and plundered, had the same rights. To them was due the same duty. Over them was the same God. The English deists made something of a study of religions other than Christian, Lessing and Herder still more. These studies had but little effect in bringing home to the minds of the

masses of men a sense of the human race as such. The Pilgrim fathers and the Puritans in the New England colonies, although they represented an extraordinarily high level of culture and of faith, unswervingly regarded themselves as the Israel of God and the unfortunate aborigines as the Canaanites whom it was the will of God to destroy. John Eliot at Nonantum took a different view. The Mayhews on Martha's Vineyard were of a different mind. The list of the graduates of Harvard College in the first twenty years shows a few Indian names. Eliot and the Mayhews, however, stood almost alone in a society to which it is common to refer as one of exalted virtue and pure Christianity. The foundations of some of the older fortunes existing to this day in the New England states were laid in a trade carried on by none more successfully than by officers in the churches of these puritanical communities. It was the trade which carried rum to Africa and brought negroes back. Practically the whole history of the dealing of the United States with the Red Indian aborigines has been an indictment of our civilization, a condemnation of our morality and a scathing reproach to our religion. For a long time there was practically no sentiment which condemned that dealing. Many of the signers of the Declaration of Independence owned slaves, Washington among the rest. Their eloquent sentences concerning the right of all men to liberty and the pursuit of happiness did not ring less true in their own ears. The conception of humanity with which they conjured so enthusiastically was strictly limited. A large part of the humanity lay outside of those limits. Outside of them were not merely the men of other hemispheres. Outside of them were also the aborigines against whom Washington fought in his youth in the French and Indian wars. Outside of them was the black man who stood as slave to hold his master's stirrup when the latter rode off to make war upon the British oppressor.

There was a remarkable awakening of humane sentiment in England in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. A single aspect of it was the review to which the affairs of the British East India Company were subjected in Parliament, in the press and in public discussion. Of that review the

impeachment of Warren Hastings was the most conspicuous episode. The utterances of Burke in that trial made a great impression. It can hardly be doubted that his representations were much overdrawn. The utterances of Macaulay, at his distance, seem still more rhetorical. Lord Clive, Sir Hector Munro, Sir Eyre Coote and the rest, were no carpet-knights. A great work was done. Against what we know of the background in India after the decline of the Mogul Empire, we are disposed to think that the condition of men in India under Clive and Hastings was far from being made worse. That would not prove that the deeds done were fitting deeds of representatives of Christendom. The powers of a quasi-government conferred upon the company were however so extraordinary, the opportunities of gain were so incredible, the absence of the check of public opinion was so complete, the wonder is that the evils were not greater than they were. At all events, the affairs of the East India Company were from that time forth more or less constantly under discussion. Now it is worthy of note that this was just the period of the rise of missionary sentiment in Great Britain and presently of the organization of the voluntary missionary societies. To India many of the first missionaries from England and America were sent. Their relations to the company were strained. This was the period also of the organization in Great Britain of many other societies for reform, philanthropy and charity. It was the period of the beginning of the agitation against slavery and the slave trade. It was the period of the beginning of prison reform. It was the period to which are traced back many of the tendencies which have marked the social, economic and industrial movements of modern times.

Alterations of the company's charter were threatened and presently carried through. Yet, even under the company, and for a generation before the Mutiny, there came a succession of British governors and judges, of civil servants and military officers in India as illustrious as any whom the world has seen. Among them were men of loftiest ideals, of high personal character, of pure devotion to duty and often also of frank allegiance to the Christian faith. They were men who had been bred in an aristocratic society and had

leisure to devote themselves to the public good. Instead of seeking the ease which would have been conceded by many as appropriate to their lot, they spent themselves in the service of the empire and more particularly of the Indian peoples. Taken together, they were the agents of that transformation of British imperial policy in the earlier half of the nineteenth century to which we have more than once referred. They were largely responsible for that change in the ideal of the relation of Europeans to outlying races which we are endeavouring to describe. They conferred incalculable benefits upon India which also reacted powerfully upon England. The Indian administration set a standard, and in many cases it furnished the personnel, for the solution of other world problems. It set a standard for the dealing of other nations with their dependencies from which neither their own self-respect nor the enlightened opinion of the world would easily suffer them to depart.

Let us go back however to the beginning of this period of change of sentiment. We ought not to paint the corruption and inhumanity of British rule in India, whatever there may have been of it, against too white a background, as if England itself or the rest of the world had been all merciful and pure. Public life in England from the time of Marlborough had been corrupt and openly immoral to a degree which we find difficult to believe. The " Journal " of John Wesley, not to speak of the novels of Fielding and Sterne, gives an impression of the vice and barbarity of much of private life which is almost equally incredible. The sufferings and likewise the crimes of a considerable portion of the British population give us not much to wonder at when we are told of the indifference of the British magnates to suffering and crime in India or to the conditions of the Africans on the Gold Coast. The number of causes for capital punishment under George II, the wild joy with which ferocious rabbles watched the execution of such sentences, the conditions which the prison reforms revealed, the general drunkenness, the state of morals, especially as to chastity, which much of the literature of the age betrays—these things furnish us with food for reflection as we transfer the attitude of mind and the motives lying behind these facts from Britain to

India or China or to the islands of the South Seas. Not alone in the relation of Europe to orientals have we to look for barbarity and atrocity. There has been in our own countries a gradual opening of men's eyes to the wrongs of man to man, to the rights of the weak, to the duties of the strong, to the sacredness of personality. The change is still insufficient. Not without cause do agitators and reformers even now reveal to us how barbarous are still many aspects of our social life and organization, how long a way we have to go before that which we theoretically concede to be the right of every man is accorded to every man or made possible for every man to attain. These latter are however only the modern phases, the economic and industrial applications, of the great humane contention of which we are speaking. It is a contention which all through the century made itself felt in one area of life or another. It made itself felt abroad as well as at home. It made itself felt abroad because it had begun to prevail at home. We have still a long road to traverse. There is, however, no reason why we should forget how far society has travelled in this direction during the century just closed.

John Wesley inaugurated against some of the evils of his time what we should now call a great home mission. It was within the same logic that the end of Wesley's century saw the inauguration of many societies in which were united those who had come to have upon their hearts the cause of foreign missions. Wesley in his later life was disposed to minimize the influence which in his early days the Moravians had exercised upon him. It seems beyond question that the attitude toward humanity as such, which had been the motive of the Moravian foreign missions, was the same which launched Wesley upon his wonderful home mission in England and Wales and America. In these same years in which Wesley's life was coming to an end and in which the modern revival of foreign missions was beginning there were other movements also of allied significance. There was the agitation which ended in the penalizing of British participation in the slave trade and presently also in the abolition of slavery throughout the British domain. There was the agitation for the reform of the prisons to which Howard and

Elizabeth Fry gave themselves. It is interesting to see that in the lists of the supporters of these various movements the same names frequently occur. Wilberforce, whose fame rests upon his opposition to slavery, was one of the early sympathizers with the undenominational London Foreign Missionary Society. He was later associated with the Church Missionary Society. This was not because the larger fellowship of endeavour was not eminently congenial to him. It was because he esteemed it his duty to bring home the matter of foreign missions to his own communion, the Established Church, upon principles which its ancient Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was then not prepared to adopt.

A decade or two of the nineteenth century had passed before the change of which we speak began to make itself universally felt. There had not been wanting good relations of traders, soldiers and administrators, English, Danish and Dutch, the world over, to the peoples among whom their lots were cast. Just so there had been in America good relations between masters and slaves. Men's characters are often better than their theories. They are sometimes also worse. The assumption certainly prevailed that God had made the caucasian to rule the world and the world to be ruled by the caucasian. The assumption certainly prevailed that there was only one civilization worthy of the name, as there was but one religion properly so called. There was however no great zeal as yet to impart either that civilization or that religion to other men. This was not because of too high respect on the part of those concerned for the people of other climes. On the contrary, it was because of doubt in some cases whether these peoples could be civilized and indifference to the matter even if they could. As for religion, the enthusiast who conceived it to be his duty to impart to the natives the rudiments of western culture and to inculcate the elements of Christian faith would, from the point of view of this logic, be the last person to be permitted within the preserves which a commercial company had at great risk and cost appropriated to itself.

It must be said, moreover, that the Protestant bodies had never in a large way sought to win their constituency

at home for the missionary view. The opinion of Luther concerning missions is proverbial. Not merely did he think them futile. He denounced them as an interference with the plan of God. It was within pietist circles which the Lutheran Church at first condemned, it was within the Moravian Brotherhood, that there was first fostered during the eighteenth century a feeling of this sort. From these sectaries went out little companies of evangelists, serving mainly in British, Danish or Dutch trading areas. As Zinzendorf once said, "They went to the parts of the earth to which no one else would go." Yet, in a measure their very successes served to confirm the hostile attitude of the great trading companies toward them. As for the Roman Catholic Church, the high example given by the early Jesuits, the holy zeal of Francis Xavier, had produced no great effect within their own communion. The tradition of missions was never by any means lost sight of in the Roman Church. Dominicans and Franciscans vied with the Jesuits in the work. Yet the Roman Church, like the Protestant bodies, awaited a great renewal of missionary zeal early in the nineteenth century. Its missionary achievements within that century surpass almost immeasurably all those which had gone before. Cranmer had urged the necessity of Christian work in English colonies. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded indeed, with the highest patronage of the Church of England, in 1701. Yet the area covered by its activities for the next hundred years and the nature of those activities constituted in no large way an exception to the generalization which we have made. These facts are cited in passing in order to make plain that the church also waited, as did the world outside the church, for an awakening to the larger significance of humanity and the gospel. Without that awakening the changes which have taken place in the nineteenth century are not to be conceived.

When the missionary awakening did come, at the end of the eighteenth century, the Protestant ecclesiastical bodies were on the whole opposed to it. They were in some cases almost as radically opposed to it as were the trading companies themselves. This was true in England and

America as well as in Germany. The individuals interested in the cause formed themselves into voluntary associations, chartered corporations, which are in some cases to this day independent of direct ecclesiastical control. The time came when many of the ecclesiastical bodies took over the work of the organizations for missionary endeavour which they had at first opposed or at any rate ignored. Not a few of these independent societies for specific missionary purposes were originally undenominational bodies. In some cases, the independent bodies continue to exist within the same churches, side by side with organisms which represent the official activity of the church. This is the case with the Church Missionary Society in the Church of England. Thus we have not to think of the modern missionary movement as a propaganda organized in their own interest by the churches. On the contrary, in many cases the churches would have prevented the movement if they could. The Church of England resisted John Wesley and would have prevented his home missionary movement had it been able. The sectarianism of missions of which just complaint has been made was a trait of a later time. It was a defection from the original type. When Carey uttered his epoch-making proposals, which in some sense inaugurated the modern Protestant missionary movement, he did not expect a large part of the laity of his own communion or even of his brethren in the ministry to agree with him. A primary characteristic of the Protestant missionary awakening at the beginning of our period was its non-ecclesiastical character. It was a movement independent of the church, or rather of the churches, just as the great reforming efforts of the age, that against slavery, that touching the prisons, that against the East India Company, were independent of both state and church.

Surely enough has been said to show the intimate relation between the rise of the modern missionary movement and the larger movement of culture and civilization of which we maintain that missions are a component part. Enough has been said to show that these impulses all have an historical connection with the same stirring of the mind and life of the race. Whence such quickenings arise is one

of the mysteries of history. They are often long in preparation. They have manifold expressions. The access of vitality and the new direction of growth are manifested simultaneously in many different spheres. Phenomena most diverse may be traced to one and the same apparent source. Comte said that an epoch is apparently the expression of one main living principle in all the multiformity of its action. Missions and humanitarianism have often appeared as antagonistic the one to the other. The great humanitarian and social enthusiasms of the nineteenth century and the great evangelistic and missionary enthusiasm have had, verily, little reason to denounce one another. They are children of the same womb. More than that, they are the birth of the same hour. Whatever of divine paternity there is, is the solemn and uplifting claim of them all. The denial of their human relationship has been injurious to them all. The real aim of the two movements of which we spoke is to complement and supplement one another. Their real effect has been such complement and supplement. Their respective advocates may have resisted one another loyally. They have aided one another nevertheless. There is no hope that the religious propaganda can ever complete the work which it has with such devotion and self-sacrifice begun, except as it acknowledges its organic relation to culture and civilization. As a matter of fact, it has intuitively acknowledged that relation and indirectly made great contributions to culture and civilization. Surely the time has come for an open recognition of these facts. Conversely, it is sufficiently obvious, even among ourselves in western lands, that the advance of learning and the changes in direction and intensity of life which have marked the last century are fatal to the highest welfare of men, unless they are attended by a reinterpretation and revival of faith. There is every reason why the science and the mode of life of the West should be even more fatal to the religion and morality of the East unless the acceptance of the one is attended also by a recognition of the values which are represented by the other.

There is, indeed, no need that we should suppose that because the men of the East have decided to accept our sciences, to imitate our industries and even to follow our

theories of civil life, we must therefore seek to thrust our interpretation of religion upon them. Religion is one thing. Its interpretation is another. We are bound to offer them the interior values which our religion represents. Eastern men must accept these as they can and reinterpret them as they may. They do not accept unqualifiedly our doctrines of civil and social life, or again the theoretical aspects of our culture, without reserve, or at least, if they do, they do so at their peril. They seek to transform values in such manner as to make these available for themselves. To cause them to abandon their own religion and the basis of their moral life without offering them any substitute, would be to render them an evil service. To seek to have them adopt our religion unmodified is to undertake an impossible task. To endeavour to help them to interpret life in the light of the one religion which has travelled the whole long road of its evolution hand in hand with the civilization which they have largely decided to adopt, is the least that we can attempt. It is also the most that we can expect to achieve. It is idle to suppose that a religion of nature can still be a living thing in the hearts of men whose minds are engaged with the facts and laws taught by the sciences of nature. That which was religion to their ancestors fades away into a myth with these men, precisely as certain interpretations of Christianity, current before the period of the natural sciences, have faded away into myth for us. This is the issue which Taoism in China faces and which Shinto in Japan does not escape. It seems idle to suppose that a religion of the law which falls back ever upon an assertion of fate can live unmodified with a world-view whose first maxim is freedom and individual initiative. That is the problem which Islam faces. It seems fatuous to think that a religion of world-renunciation can live unmodified with a civilization whose major premise is the right of self-realization of men and races in the world, and the rightfulness of world-realization through the endeavours of those men. That is the position in which cultivated adherents of Buddhism often find themselves. It is not that there is not a truth of the divine indwelling in nature, of the divine supremacy over man's life and of the glory of the life of self-

abnegation. These all are principles which find place, as we believe, in any adequate interpretation of Christianity. They are all of them principles which, with an inadequate interpretation or in exclusive emphasis, have obscured the essential teaching of Christianity and caused the current Christianity of certain ages and certain portions of the world closely to resemble now one and now another of the non-Christian religions which we have named. There is too much of truth in these ideas that we should speak scornfully of them. There is too little that we should be overawed by them. They have been too largely represented in our own religious history that we should regard them as alien to ourselves. What we are saying is that these principles cannot live unmodified in the eastern world, just as they have not been able to live unqualified in our western world. It was the failure to realize these facts which made, in time past, the presentation of Christianity in the East so unsympathetic as it sometimes was. It is the failure to realize these facts which even now makes the presentation of Christianity among us in the West to be as futile as it occasionally is. On the other hand, to be zealous to confer upon men what we are pleased to call civilization without any question of its relation to their inner life, or with the result of having impaired or destroyed for them an inner life which their fathers had never been without, is not to have conferred a benefit upon the men. It is to have inflicted an injury. Indeed, in the last analysis it is to have failed to confer upon them civilization. It is to have conferred only an imperfect and mutilated civilization.

So much is this contention for the inviolable relation of civilization and religion the central contention of these lectures, that we may perhaps do wisely to devote the remaining paragraph of this chapter to another aspect of the same theme. We may do wisely to dwell upon the relation of religion and civilization in the two eras of epoch-making propaganda through which Christendom has already passed. We shall find the parallels most instructive.

The obligation of Christians to propagate the gospel of Jesus as a saving faith for all men would probably be regarded by most as an inevitable inference from the nature of the

gospel itself. It would be asserted to be a perennial and unvarying obligation. Yet nothing is more obvious than that this obligation has not been felt at all times nor in all places, nor by all even of the saintliest of men. It has not been unswervingly followed. It is not alleged merely that there have always been individuals who have not felt that obligation. That would be true also at this moment. It is asserted that there have been very long and significant eras in Christian history when no one seemed to hear that command, when the Christian world as a whole did not attempt to fulfil that obligation. There is a periodicity in the movement for the expansion of Christianity which is highly suggestive. There have been long ages of arrest in the movement, when all the Christian forces seem to have expended themselves upon some other task. Again there has come a resumption of the missionary endeavour. The causes of these arrests and resumptions are not always clear. There is a striking correspondence however of this oscillatory movement with the advance and arrest of other forces of civilization. There is an ebb and flow of the Christian vitality. There is a systole and diastole of the Christian life. There is an alternation in the Christian task. There are periods when expansion is the obvious and overwhelming impulse. Again there are periods when the organization and consolidation of that which has been won in the previous era of expansion is the pressing problem, when the assimilation of the whole life of new provinces gained for the faith has absorbed the energies of the faithful.

Christianity had its origin as a religious revival in Judaism upon principles suggested by the greater prophets. These suggestions were taken up by Jesus and expounded with unique originality. Christianity had its origin in the most despised of Roman provinces, remote from the general influence of Hellenic culture. It had its personification in a man who was, so far as we know, of very limited contact with the outside world. His world was the world of moral and spiritual experience. His claim for the universality of that which he taught took the form, not of argument from philosophy or history, but rather of the simple intuitions of a reverent and loving heart. It was intuitive

with him that all men everywhere, without reference to race, status or culture, were children of God, but all who were disobedient children would fail of the fulfilment of their high privilege. All were alike the objects of the love of a forgiving God and of the sympathy of right-minded men. The first emissaries of the faith which took its name from Jesus of Nazareth seem to have been disposed to hold to a maximum of Judaic law and dogma and to a minimum of that which we now understand by Christianity. They lacked, on the one hand, the intuition of Jesus which came from the profundity and universality of his love and which had been so sure. They lacked, on the other hand, the horizon of the man who, as an apostle of the gentiles, was destined in his work and influence to transcend them all. Only by the hardest were they brought to see that it was not necessary to force all of their dogmatic views upon all of their converts, or to exact of these conformity to rites to which they were themselves accustomed and concerning which Paul said that even Jews obeyed them none too well. It was a cultivated man, born a citizen of the Roman state, who had studied in Hellenic schools, though also brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, it was a man who had travelled and who never ceased to travel, a man who had all the instincts of a discoverer, a founder and builder, who first seems really to have seen the application of the universalism of his Master and to have proclaimed the gospel as a gospel for the world. This gospel was proclaimed at first to the poor and ignorant, even to the slaves. In no long time it won adherents among the learned and the rich and great. It filled a place in the life of these also which no other faith and no philosophy had filled. Its first emissaries must have been often business men and teachers. It had in its earliest period no clergy as a caste and almost no missionaries by profession. It prevailed at last in the centres of culture over the ancient faiths of the many races which the empire held in a sort of unity. It passed through bitter persecutions and was kept measurably pure by those persecutions. It won the allegiance of emperors and was demoralized by their allegiance. It gained secular power which it used in the main very badly. It was interpreted in terms of current

philosophies and ran large risk of losing its own character as religion. It found application to every phase of life and modified every phase of life in which it kept its own spirit pure. It was no longer felt to be an alien element in the Roman state or in the schools of classical culture. It displaced the ancient faiths so completely that the very name for the adherent of these faiths came to be pagan, rustic, inhabitant of the untutored wilds, the last refuges from which the old popular superstitions had not yet been dislodged. It conquered the world, but it did not achieve this marvel without giving hostages to the world which it had conquered. It assimilated the world to itself. It did this however at a price, the price, namely, of being largely assimilated to the world. Its dogma, which it confidently proclaimed as unchanged since the apostles' age, had in reality changed its philosophic form with every generation since the apostles and in some measure according to the genius of every cultivated people to which it went. In reality its dogma was but the Hellenization of its thought, as its organization was but the Romanization of its life. Many elements in the Christianity which has been current in Europe for now fifteen hundred years were not originally Christian. They were partly Judaic. In still greater degree, perhaps, they were Hellenic, Latin and Teutonic. So true was this, that for long ages it was practically forgotten that at bottom Christianity is an Asiatic faith. Despite the witness on the very face of its own documents, it was practically forgotten that Christianity was not the immemorial faith of Europeans. After all however it was but a little world which Christianity conquered in this its first period. It was but the basin of the Mediterranean, the shores of an inland sea. What we hear of the expansion of Christianity beyond those areas is in part mythical or again, even where the expansion was real, it was superficial and passing. Moreover, not merely was the area of this expansion limited. The period of its activity was limited as well. For reasons inherent within itself, the movement came to an end. For the time this phase of work was done.

After an age of expansion under the influences of the apostles and of the fathers, down to the middle of the fourth

century, there came a pause. There succeeded a period in which that which had been conquered was being assimilated. That which had been claimed was being appropriated. The energy of expansion transformed itself into that of construction. The manifestations of the genius of Christianity were now constructive and defensive. The supreme problems were, as we should say in our day, at home and not abroad. They were problems created by the state of the declining empire, by the opportunities offered to the triumphant church, by the necessity thrust upon the church through the conditions of the world in which it had made itself at home. The empire had bound the world together into a unity the like of which has not been known again until our own day. The provincial administration had been flexible enough to give play to racial instincts and in notable measure to preserve peace. It had been firm enough to create the conditions of the spread of the classical civilization which has often been noted as a preparation for the advance of Christianity when it came. The Roman roads and the routes of commerce on the sea, the ramifications of trade, the prevalence of Roman law and Hellenic culture, the dispersion of the Jews, the tolerance accorded to all faiths, the interest of the West in the religions of the East—facts like these have been often noted as conditions which made the dissemination of Christianity almost inevitable. They were conditions which had never before existed. They were conditions which in large part disappeared with the fall of the Roman Empire. Nothing like them has again prevailed until nearly down to our own time.

Men had thought of the vast empire as eternal. They were soon to be undeceived. In the way of simple expansion the Christian church had reached the limits of the empire. The empire however began to crumble. With that fact also the task of Christianity was altered. For a long time now there was to be no great enlargement of the area which the faith could claim. Rather, there was distinct territorial retrogression. The boundaries of the empire were being drawn in. Provinces which had been but lightly touched by Christianity fell away from the church, as also boundary provinces which had been less essentially transformed by

the Roman civilization fell back into barbarism. Little areas on the frontier where Christianity was able to maintain itself, as in Ireland and in the north of Scotland, were separated for a time from the great body of the church. The church could not escape the great world movement. It had other work to do than that of the propaganda, a work which absorbed all its powers. It had work to do in building itself up into a kind of empire which was in a way to take the place of the one which was fading away. It succeeded in this task all too well for its own good. It succeeded so well that it contravened its own nature. It had work to do in preventing that which had been the civilized world from falling back into barbarism. It did not altogether prevent that lapse. It did not itself altogether escape that barbarism. That which had been a spiritual movement was transformed into an outward institution. Through that rigid institutional character it met some of the dire needs of the races among whom it had spread. The unity to which it aspired must not hide from us the extraordinary diversities which it included. If however in this period there had not been much change in scope, there had been great gain in the thoroughness with which the Christian religion made itself felt in its world. The beginnings of the conversion of the Goths and of others of the barbaric peoples constitute indeed an exception to the general statement which we have made. Those efforts were the forerunners of the great missions of the era of which we shall next speak. Yet even this exception serves the more to emphasize the general truth we have alleged. The church could not escape from the influence of the fact that in those years the boundaries of the Roman Empire were being drawn in. The empire was declining. The church was transforming itself to take the empire's place. Presently the ancient world of culture and civilization was overwhelmed. The church rescued almost all of that ancient culture and civilization which was rescued.

Then, after this interval of pause in the Christian movement, there came another period of great expansion. The empire, as we have said, had fallen. The church had become the bearer of civilization and enlightenment as well as of the gospel to the peoples of the north-west and north-east of

Europe. This was the differentiation of the second period from the first. In the first period the gospel of Jesus had been a gospel of the inner life to a world of ancient civilization and proud culture which had seemed then to be at its very height, but which was soon to show signs of decline and decay. In the second period the same gospel was a gospel of the outer life as well to the peoples of the north of Europe who, if uncivilized, were at least unspoiled, and who were destined to shape the life of the world as it is to this day. The Christian gospel was, we say, a gospel of the outer life as well as of inner and spiritual experience to these peoples, just as it must needs be also a gospel of the outer life to the inhabitants of Africa to-day. The period from the sixth to the ninth centuries inclusive saw the converting and, step by step also, the civilizing and educating of northern Gaul, of Britain again, which had partially fallen away, of the Low Countries, of northern and eastern Germany, of Denmark and Norway and Sweden, of eastern Austria, the Balkans and of southern Russia. Rome was not alone the home and centre of this movement. In these last-mentioned regions the church at Constantinople had its part. The Celtic church of Ireland and of the north of Scotland must not be forgotten. This little body of devout men had drawn further into their fastnesses when the south of England had been abandoned. They maintained their Christianity from the earlier period. Now in an amazing burst of missionary enthusiasm they sent priests and teachers and organizers to northern continental Europe. These monks met and joined hands with those who came out from Rome. The whole of Saxon and Teutonic Europe, the beginnings even of Slavic Christendom, became a sort of reprisal for Latin Africa and Arabia and Asia Minor, which had in the same period fallen away from Christianity before the conquering hosts of Islam.

The emissaries of this Christianization of the north were now for the most part monks, priests and ecclesiastics, missionaries by profession, we should say. In contrast, the missionaries of that first grand evangelization had been laymen, merchants, soldiers and travellers. Furthermore, as we have said, the message of these enthusiastic Christians

of the first period had been mainly a message of the inner life to men upon whom there was no need to confer culture and civilization but with whom rather their own culture and civilization had often been destructive of their faith. The work of these clerics of the second period was often that of civilizers also, of creators of an economic and social and industrial and even political régime. They were drainers and cultivators of the soil, improvers of agriculture, teachers of better care of animals and plants. They were builders, by no means only of churches. They were reformers, by no means only of rituals. They were teachers, by no means only of dogma. They were founders of libraries, authors of books, illuminators of manuscripts, constructors of organs. In rudimentary way they were experimenters in science. They were healers of the sick, founders of orphanages, providers for the poor. It was not an accident that the Benedictine rule provided for the discipline of manual labour and of study as well as of piety. It was not an accident that many of these missionaries to the northern world were Benedictines. They were "all things to all men," bringers of every sort of good to uncivilized and half-civilized peoples, who were in need of every good thing which they brought. They were disseminators of cultivation which was Roman and more remotely still Hellenic, all shot through with a Judaism which has never been far from Christianity. They were thus the mediators to the modern world of the tradition of ancient and classical culture. They were, after the first rude stages of their endeavour were past, patrons of art and fosterers of philosophy. They made all of Europe, except extreme north-eastern Germany and the northern and eastern parts of Russia, recipients of Christianity. The other religions faded slowly away before them, leaving often legends and practices to be more or less unconsciously taken up into the thought and life of the faith which had proved too strong for them.

The area of extension of Christianity was thus vastly larger than it had been. The territory of Christendom had been indeed in the same period diminished by the loss of large parts of Africa, of Arabia, of Asia Minor and of Persia. It was threatened with the loss of the whole even of Spain.

These losses were in some measure offset by the northern world which Christendom had now won. The results of the propaganda were at first, no doubt, superficial. There were mass conversions here and there. The adoption of Christianity was at times forced by rulers. There was need of almost indefinite labour in the cultivating of the Christian spirit, in the dissemination of knowledge and in the purifying of life. This was the work to which the church now set itself in the vast areas to which the Christian name had been given. The races gained were those which were now destined to play the great part in the history of Europe. The races lost were mainly of those who had already played their part. The races gained by Islam have, for the most part, still further declined under Islam, especially since the Osman conquests. It is possible that they would have declined in any case. The civilization of Bagdad and Damascus was at one time, no doubt, far superior to that of western Europe in the same era, as was that of Cordova to that of Christian Spain. It has bestowed some significant elements of learning upon Europe. If one asks, however, whether the peoples of Islam as a whole, especially since the Osman invasions, have kept pace as have the peoples of the north and west of Europe, there can be but one answer. The history of the fall of Constantinople before Mohammed the Conqueror, of the extinction of old Servia and the Balkan civilization, of the wars which brought the Turk to the walls of Vienna, leave no doubt as to that. In truth, however, the Mohammedan civilization of the golden age had itself fallen before the all-destroying Ottoman just as truly as had the ancient Christian civilizations, just as truly as the ancient civilization of Russia in the days of its close bond to Constantinople had fallen before the Tartar, or for that matter, just as truly as the ancient civilization of China fell at last before the Manchu, whose destructive advance to the East was part of the same movement which let loose Tartar and Osman upon the West.

Islam has been brought by its conquests, at many points and in all periods, into comparison with Christianity as a great missionary religion. It is the main rival of Christianity as a missionary religion to-day. For reasons which are not

altogether clear, Mohammedanism underwent less radical transformation as it journeyed from one nation to another people than did Christianity in the same process. Its extremely rapid conquests achieved in some measure by force, its worship of the letter of the Koran, which perpetuates so much of the very setting of the life of Arabia in Mohammed's time, may have much to do with this. Here is food for reflection for those Christians who are fain to assert that Christianity has never changed in time past and who, some of them, once accorded to the letter of the Bible, a worship almost like that which the Moslem feels for the text of the Koran. The extreme concreteness of the teaching of the Koran was without doubt one of the secrets of its early success. Equally, it is one of the secrets of its waning power as the generations passed. As a matter of fact, Islam has really been far more inflexible than has Christianity. It has undergone far less of naturalization and nationalization than has Christianity. It has far less of mobility even now. The Christianity which was spread over the territory of the Saxon and the Teuton was transformed by the peoples among whom it spread. It conquered them. That was the fact of which the church was gratefully aware. Yet also it was in its new area greatly transformed by those same Saxons and Teutons, with their instinctive modes of thought and life. This was a more subtle fact of which only later, at the end of the Middle Age and in the Protestant Reformation, men were made fully aware. Our German and English and American Christianity is all shot through with elements which are not Christian in their origin. They are not Hellenic, they are not Roman, they are not Judaic. They are an inheritance from our own Teutonic forefathers from before the time when these received Christianity. Teutonic and Saxon Christianity has never been the same with the Roman, not even in the age when its whole ambition was to be one with the Christianity of Rome.

Meantime, there came again a long period of suspension of advance. This too, at times, appeared as retrogression. There were centuries when there was no material enlargement of the area of nominal Christianity. There was only the vital process of assimilation of and of assimilation to the

races which had already been included within its area. The crusades were wars which had indeed, in one way, a religious cast. They had their origin in a sense of indignation at the thought of that which the Moslem in his advance had wrested from Christendom. There was an appeal to the imagination in the fact that the infidel possessed the sepulchre of the founder of Christianity. In the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem the crusades did have for a moment the effect of a spectacular recovery of the territory sacred to Christians. To this extent the crusades did wear the cast of a kind of vindication of Christianity against an alien faith. The occupation of a part of Palestine and Syria was of brief duration. The part occupied was of small extent and probably of no worth whatever save from the point of sentiment. The occupation was a reprisal for those efforts which the Moslems had made to invade Europe and which they were to make in yet more disastrous fashion after the enthusiasm of the crusades had waned. The crusades were of relatively small effect upon the commercial relations of East and West. They were of absolutely no effect upon their religious relations, or rather, what effect they had in this regard was injurious. The crusaders were the farthest removed from conceiving themselves as missionaries of a faith. They had no idea of seeking the conversion of the followers of the Prophet. They had no desire to win them to the spirit of Christianity or to give them the culture and civilization of Europe. The crusades were, at least at the beginning, popular wars, in which large elements of the turbulent population of Europe, itself just emerging from barbarism, joyfully took part. Large numbers of those who took part in them appear as but little touched by the spirit of any religion and as representing in but slight degree any culture or civilization. One may except a figure like that of Saint Louis. Yet the spirit often even of the leaders, sincere as it no doubt was, seems to us to illustrate the immaturity of the Christianity of the age. A man like Raymond Lull stands almost absolutely alone in those long centuries in his desire really to bring the Christian faith as faith to the non-Christian world. After that desire really took possession of him he was as lonely in Europe as on the coast of Morocco. Without

doubt the crusades did their part to build up that wall between East and West, between Mohammedan and Christian, which we feel to be so nearly unsurmountable even in our own day.

There was built up a wall of separation between East and West such as the ancient world had known nothing of and which we are only now beginning to break down. The Roman Empire had made its world a unity of East and West, the reality and completeness of which we find it difficult to conceive. The Christendom of our first period of advance with its following centuries of arrest was a unity. The great schism between the Orthodox and Latin churches had not taken place. Now, however, the most ancient Christian churches, the Gregorian and Coptic, had become like little islands in a great sea, almost as much isolated from Byzantium as from Rome. The conquests of Islam had filled Europe with terror. The Roman Empire was in some sense one even when it was ruled from Constantinople. By the time of Charlemagne this was all changed. The churches of the East and West and the worlds of East and West were, in the Middle Ages, so completely divided that each half almost forgot the existence of the other half. The eastern world was to Europe a world of the Arabian Nights which even Shakespeare still pictured, although it was such a little distance from Venice to Antioch or Bagdad. When Constantinople fell it was because the western world had almost forgotten that there was such a place. The fall of Constantinople with the migration of its scholars, the Renaissance, those voyages of discovery which ruined the trade of Venice and brought India and America to the knowledge of Europe, marked the end of the old age and ushered in the new. Yet the literature of the eighteenth century still shows how strange East and West were one to the other. Men have talked still in the nineteenth century as though never the twain would meet. The conflicts of the beginning of the twentieth century show how large is still the element of instinctive animosity and how scant are even now our sympathies. Nevertheless, within a generation all the forces with which we are dealing in these lectures have wrought to make East and West one again in a sense in which

they have not been one since Theodoric triumphed over Justinian. Only now both East and West are so much larger than they were before. Now the East includes India and China and Japan and the West includes the Americas and Australia.

The period of arrest, after the missions which gave to Christendom the north of Europe, was, if we count from the last work done from Constantinople on behalf of Russia, fully four hundred years. If we have in mind only the Latin Church and its evangelizing, say of Norway and East Prussia, the period was not quite so long. Then, with the Renaissance came again, at least to the western church, a great awakening. Since that day the European world has been making itself felt all over the non-Christian world in the manner we are endeavouring to describe. The Roman Church, but particularly the Jesuits, followed in zeal for the faith the earliest adventurers who sought the advantage of Asiatic and American trade. The fierceness of the Reformation struggle may account for the fact that the Protestants found their place in the modern missionary movement at a much later date. They have wrought with an enthusiasm which has at least done what it could to atone for the delay. This time the area of territorial expansion of Christendom has not been an inland sea with margins of three continents. Nor, again, has it been the whole of one continent, Europe, as it was in the case of the mediæval missions. This time it has been practically the whole world. It is a matter of indifference now whether we travel toward the West to meet the East or the reverse. With the political, commercial and educational expansion of Christendom has come also the advance of the Christian propaganda into every inhabited land. We are leaving no more worlds to conquer. There are no spaces left for a fourth enlargement parallel to the third which we are recounting. Even to those of us who do not easily believe in historic finalities, there is a strange sense of finality about the nineteenth century in this particular aspect of this movement with which we have chosen to deal. It is of course only a geographical finality. Each time, as we have seen, the current Christendom and Christianity have advanced they have paused to absorb to themselves the

world which in name they had made their own. Each time Christianity has been itself assimilated to the world which it had claimed. Then again, each time, after the pause, it has launched itself once more upon a larger world. Each time it has touched new races. Now there are no more races yet untouched. There will certainly be, and that soon, no regions not reached by our adventurers whether of trade or of science or of faith, save perhaps those regions in which there are no men. Each time that Christianity has been even superficially adopted by any number of men it has been then slowly adapted to its new constituency. It has thus attained a new interpretation of itself. It was Judaic in origin. It became Græco-Roman and then Teutonic, without losing its Latin and Hellenic elements. It is quite certain that, in finding its life once again among Asiatic peoples as at the first, it will take on Asiatic qualities. It will divest itself in a measure of those traits which it has acquired through its long sojourn among western peoples. It cannot indeed deny its own history. As little can it deny the history of the races to which it goes. Christianity was born upon the borderland between Asia and Europe. In its parentage, upon witness of the teaching of Jesus Himself, there is scarcely the trace of a European idea. Yet it passed beyond Asia in the very first generation of its existence. It seems to have passed into Europe, even before Paul, in the person of civilians and soldiers who had found in its spirit something precious to themselves. In the person of Paul, however, its transfer from Asia to Europe was accomplished by one who perfectly understood what he was doing. His clear perception of the meaning of his action is the more remarkable because he himself was so intensely a Jew. He intended to divest Christianity of hampering Jewish elements and to leave it to be clothed by his Greek and Roman converts in garments which best suited its new life. He insisted that it should find for itself adjustment to its new work. He esteemed that the process was inexorable. He had faith that the issue was inevitable. What we need after twenty centuries in undertaking the same journey back again with Christianity from Europe into Asia is the same sound judgment and high faith. We must leave

behind hampering elements whether of Catholicism or Protestantism. We have perhaps taken pleasure in hearing Paul speak sharply of the pillar apostles of the Jews as laying upon gentile converts burdens greater than these could bear. We ought to realize that those very burdens are now the dogmas and rites and organization of European and American Christianity. Luther rejoiced that Paul had written against the Jews words which in good time served to set free Protestants from the Roman Church. We ought to realize that Japanese and Hindus are entitled now to rejoice in those same words, as setting them free from those parts of Lutheran and Anglican and New England dogma and ecclesiasticism which there is no need that they should bear.

The arrest of the mere evangelizing process must come again when there are no more men or races to whom the gospel is, even as a mere message, to be proclaimed. The uses of that period of arrest and evangelization must, however, be clear from that which we have said. The issue of that arrest in evangelization must be the Christianization of the whole world in the broadest and deepest sense of that word. The arrest in the process of evangelization, it would seem, must come in a relatively short time, because in a strange way we have nearly reached the margins, so far as the mere proclamation of the gospel by foreigners is concerned. That there are very considerable portions of every nation in the East and in the southern hemisphere which even now have not so much as heard of the gospel of Christ is true. But they will best hear it from their fellow countrymen. Beyond a certain point, which point is in some lands already reached, evangelization is the task of the native and not of the foreigner. The task of the missionary is in raising up, educating, guiding and inspiring the evangelists. In any case, evangelization is not Christianization. Evangelization may be in some cases the task of but a few years. Christianization is a problem of ages. It is a problem which in those portions of the West in which Christianity has been dominant for many centuries is still desperately far from being complete. Christianization must seem to us, when we think soberly, a limitless task, for it means the transformation of every phase of the life of man. It is a task which must be the

more prolonged and the more difficult in proportion as we aim at reality and not at any mere semblance of victory for the Christian cause in the world. Those who coined the phrase "the evangelization of the world within a generation" gave themselves a catchword which they have spent much valuable time in explaining. In the light of that which we have said we can hardly doubt what it was which the thoughtful among them had in mind. It was the reaching of the margin of the various races with the proclamation of the gospel by the agency of foreigners within the life time of men living. It is by no means impossible that this may be achieved. Nor would that achievement be without significance. Yet injurious effect of the phrase has been felt wherever men have not borne in mind the distinction between evangelization and Christianization. For those who do not make this distinction, the phrase "evangelization within the generation" postulates either a narrow and mistaken view of that with which in missions we are concerned, or else it sets before ardent souls an ideal which can by no possibility be realized. The case is parallel to that of the revivalists' urgency upon conversion. Conversion is good as the beginning of the Christian life. It is very bad for an ending. In truth, it is the air of revivalism which adheres to this phrase about evangelization within the generation which spoils it for those who really aim at Christianization. If the mere proclamation of the gospel, which is a beginning, were to be the end, it would be a singularly fruitless end. The fruit of true evangelization must always be Christianization. The Christianization of the men and races which have already come into contact with the gospel through the movement which we are trying to describe will be a problem for Christendom and, far more, for the races themselves, for generations yet to come. Even if we reckon with the accelerated pace at which, in all aspects of its life, our world is now moving, we must see it so. One means of the hastening the work we have to do is a clear view and patient spirit as to our task. That task is the quickening of the world to its own best life through the spirit of Christianity. It is the interpretation of Christianity by that life. It is the fulfilment of all that is human through that which

we believe to be the farthest reach which men have yet made toward God and the clearest revelation which God has vouchsafed in answer to the cry of men. When we feel in profound contrition, as we must do at this very moment, how far Christendom is from being Christianized, we realize how great is the task which lies before us if we would Christianize the world.

LECTURE III

THE RELATION OF RELIGION AND CIVILIZATION IN THE EARLY ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS—AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PROTESTANT PERIOD—IDEALS OF OUR OWN TIME

We endeavoured in the last lecture to give some account of the motives of that which we called the era of assimilation in the relations of West and East. We sought to indicate the characteristics of this period as contrasted with those of the eras of commerce or of conquest which preceded it. We tried also by way of parallel to suggest the relation of the two factors, religion and civilization, in the naturalization of Christianity in the remoter eras, first in the basin of the Mediterranean and then in the north of Europe. We thought we saw that many of the traits of the modern period may be traced to the awakening of the sentiment of humanity which began to make itself felt in large way in Europe toward the end of the eighteenth century. This humane and altruistic impulse has broadly characterized the nineteenth century. It manifested itself at the outset in a dramatic struggle for civil rights and political equality. It has shown itself in efforts on behalf of economic reform, of industrial readjustment and of social amelioration. It has expressed itself in labours in the cause of public education and of public health and in the unprecedented organization of the modern world in the interest of charity and philanthropy. It is a movement which had its roots in a pure idealism, in the sense of the dignity of man. It arose in a great enthusiasm. It has from decade to decade created new opportunities for the expression of that enthusiasm. The movement has gathered to itself many of the finest spirits of the age. It has frequently set before itself ends frankly secular. For reasons upon which we shall later have cause to dwell, its exponents were often hostile to professed religion. They often stood

aloof from the church. They had less sympathy with missions than with any other manifestation of religion. Yet steadily the humanitarianism of the age has taken on the traits of a religion. Æsthetic and romanticist tendencies, which had their share in the beginnings of the movement, have largely faded away. The moral passion has increased. There has been no century comparable with the nineteenth in its zeal to behold each relation of man's life in the light of its ideal. It has aimed to perform every task, even the most prosaic, in a kind of consecration. One of its dominant traits has been its altruism. These facts are to be borne in mind when we are crushed, as indeed we sometimes must be under the weight of contrary considerations. We are oppressed with a sense that this same enlargement of opportunity, the same unexampled mobility of life, which have encouraged the generous efforts of which we speak, have also made possible a monstrous self-assertiveness on the part of the individual and made actual crimes of classes against humanity and of races one against another so ruinous that we often feel that no other age has experienced the like. Both the good and the evil of our age are exhibited on a colossal scale. These things are true within our own nation. They are true as between the nations of Christendom. It would be strange if we did not find the same conflict of opposing tendencies in the contacts of Christendom with the non-Christian nations.

Yet here we come upon an interesting contrast. In the centres of Christendom the initiative in many of the aspects of humane and altruistic endeavour of which we speak, was outside of professedly religious circles. In the France of 1789 the Roman Church was viewed as hardly less hostile to human liberty than the Bourbon state. In the anti-slavery movement the tardiness and lukewarmness of the churches was scandalous. In the modern movement for social righteousness the same accusation is often made. On the other hand, in the efforts of Christendom on behalf of non-Christian races, efforts which have ended in philanthropy and reform and education on the largest scale, the initiative has been, as we have seen, not exactly with the church, but with deeply religious men. It would hardly be too much

to say that these movements began with the most religious men of their time, at least, with those most conscious to themselves of the meaning of religion. The movement which these men inaugurated was at first suspicious of the efforts of the humanitarians. Conversely, the reformers and agitators, those whose hearts were set on civil and social endeavour, were suspicious of the evangelistic endeavour. The missionary movement was at first almost purely a religious movement in the traditional sense of that word. It was a phase of religious revival. Yet both movements have changed their character and enlarged their scope during the century. Humanitarian endeavours have found themselves more and more in harmony with Christianity or, at all events, appreciative of the necessity of a religious basis of ethics. They have contributed their share toward a new and nobler interpretation of the meaning of Christianity. Conversely, the missionary endeavour has come to find every effort for the amelioration of the lot of man and for his uplifting in this world accessory to its central purpose of aiding men to live the life which is by faith in God.

We were saying that abroad, as well as at home, the philanthropic movement as such, and especially in the earlier part of the century, sought to maintain its distance from the religious propaganda. Equally, the religious endeavour often sought timidly or jealously to emphasize its independence of the secular movement. Many a man who has given himself loyally to some form of service of his fellow men in India, China or Africa, can with difficulty bring himself to speak well of missions. It is equally true, however, that many a man who is coining himself in social service here at home hates the church, despises ministers and abuses Christianity, although he is perhaps fain to say that it is he himself who, with others like him, is really following Christ. On the other hand, many a man to whose deepest consciousness religion is all in all views with but scant sympathy a score of generous endeavours for his fellow-men. He feels sure that they will lead no-whither or will actually lead to failure unless they have their roots in religion. Religion is the only basis for the permanent uplifting of mankind. He alleges that without the renewal of the inner life the gifts

of civilization are bestowed in vain. He maintains that our civilization never grew to that which it is without a morale which has its roots in religion. He believes that it cannot maintain itself except from those roots. Still less can it be transferred to others without reference to the radical principles of its own life. Probably we could most of us say these same things, only we should like to make the definitions. We see clearly what the devout man means when he contends that religion is the one thing which is necessary. We regret that he should ever say this in such a manner as to lead men to suppose that he esteems religion a thing by itself, or that all the rest of life is not fundamentally related to religion. If he does so believe he is a fanatic. If he does so believe he does his part to foster a misconception of religion which does more harm to the cause than all of its enemies could ever do. On the other hand, it needs but little reflection to perceive that the amelioration of the life and lot of men abroad or at home can never be reduced to a question of the accomplishment of this particular reform, of the success of that specific agitation or of the attainment of some concrete end which for its votaries has come to obscure all others. Bigotry here has the same consequence in blindness and fury which it has elsewhere. He must have had a limited experience who has not learned that some of the most absurdly prejudiced of men are those who wrap themselves about in the garment of a complacent liberalism. The man for whom the whole of life has come to be absorbed in one social, economic or even ethical endeavour, who sees nothing in the world but that one element of progress, commits the same error with the religious fanatic, only the other way about. The one holds that the problem of life can be solved entirely by the alteration of outward conditions. The other contends that it can be solved completely from within. We need not seek to apportion blame for this futile contrariety of views. What is desirable is that we should recognize and interpret it.

We saw that this contrast existed in fullest vigour at the beginning of our period. Indeed in one way, we may say that the missionary movement had its origin in the rigour of this contrast. Yet at all times and in all places the various

factors in our movement have revealed their affinity for one or the other of these views. Missionaries, not all, to be sure, but some, have gone to their fields resolute to sustain what they conscientiously held to be the exclusive spiritual view of their work. Patrons of missions at home have sometimes applauded the missionaries in proportion to the narrowness of their view. Yet perforce they have all ended in being in their measure civilizers and fosterers of culture. They have had their part in shaping the outward destinies of men. They have done this work far better when they have done it not unwillingly. They have thus seemed to make concession to the wisdom of plans which perhaps they decried. Even so, they have but happily demonstrated that which was, after all, the real heart of their contention, namely, that civilization and culture must have both their source and their issue in the inner life. Missionaries trained as clergymen have often in strange lands laid the foundations of education and of a new social order. They have wrought reforms, civil and economic and social, where no one else was as yet making that endeavour. One has only to think of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn at Robert College, of Daniel Bliss at Beyrout, of Miss Patrick in the Constantinople College for Women, of Alexander Duff in India or of Verbeck in Japan. Men of this type have sometimes been the first to declare their own lack of technical training for the task which the exigencies of life thus thrust upon them. By no means all missionaries are now clergymen. Boards send out many men and women of technical equipment for various occupations. It is far from being demonstrated that technical fitness is any substitute for the quality which those pioneers possessed. Devotion will carry men farther than diplomas, although there is no reason why men should not have both. Great men, moreover, have done without special training that which small men never do with it.

Conversely, the great soldiers and governors, the statesmen, judges and physicians, the masters of trade and administration, have sometimes indeed been devout Christian men. One has only to think of the Lawrences, of Havelock and Gordon, of Sir John Bowring and Sir Robert Hart. Often again they have not been professedly religious men. Some-

times this attitude upon their part had its origin in the futility and inadequacy of those phases of religion with which they had come into unhappy contact. We cannot always blame them for leaving that which they understood by religion on one side. Yet they have followed their highest ideals. They have done in some obvious and necessary service of men a work of God, which they did not always call by that name. This has been the form which their religion took. We shall see the practical convergence upon one point of the endeavours of all sorts and conditions of men, even of some whose theoretical views have been very wide apart. We shall have occasion to bring into review many aspects of the influence of the West upon the East in the course of the nineteenth century. There is hardly one of these to which men of either of the types just named have not made heroic contribution. There is hardly a great achievement in this whole area which is not an actual product of the joint endeavour of men to whom service was all the religion they had, and of men to whom all religion was one high service. Men awake, as it were, to find themselves at one in action with other men from whom they had supposed themselves divided by a gulf which no thinking could suffice to bridge. It is so as between various sects of Christendom. It is so as between political parties. It is so in the hour of one's country's need. Most of all is this true in the advancement of the Kingdom of God. We perceive that it is so. We realize this as soon as we have a larger idea what the Kingdom of God really is. A wholeness of life is thus preserved which the complete ascendancy of either type of men or work would have destroyed.

We may thus take an optimistic view of the result to which men of both classes have been unconsciously led. Yet, the language which we have used would be very far from describing the conscious relation in which the parties have often stood. Perhaps nothing could be more illuminating for our purpose than a brief review of the relations in which the Christian propagandists have esteemed themselves to stand to the culture and civilization, on the one hand, of the countries from which they came, and on the other hand, of the countries to which they went. It is easy to say that in the

issue the purposes of the extremists of either group have been overruled. We have already said that men of all classes have worked together to an end which has proved to be larger than any of them had divined. The history with which we are dealing has been however conditioned in an extraordinary way by the views which the actors conscientiously took of their task. In eminent measure the kind of work of which we speak is the work of men of conviction. Had they not been such men they would have given the usual prosaic grounds for remaining at home and spared themselves and others much friction. Their sincere convictions are therefore extremely interesting. The movement which we describe is before all things a conflict of ideas.

We saw that the zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith received a new awakening in the Roman Church, particularly through the Society of Jesus, in the very period in which the early voyages were being made which resulted in the expansion of European empires. Ignatius Loyola had been no scholar. Yet he set himself in humility to learn that which he esteemed indispensable to the success of his scheme. He had been a courtier and man of the world. His society has never lacked men of the world among its great servants. It has been a society in the world in a sense in which the Benedictine was not an order in the world and the Franciscan although in the world was at all events not of it. Some of Loyola's coadjutors in the founding of the Society of Jesus were men of much learning. Francis Xavier was a saint, and he also has the marks of a man who knew the world and whom the world knew. The Society of Jesus fought with all of its impassioned fervour and with great ability for a conception of Christianity and of its relation to the world which was not congruous with the new movement in education and civilization which the times had brought forth. On the contrary, the Society of Jesus came into being to oppose those ideas which had borne fruit in the Renaissance and the Reformation. These ideas had profoundly influenced the Roman Church as well, as one may see in the career of Erasmus or of Paolo Sarpi. The Society of Jesus existed to oppose these tendencies within the church and to make reprisals in the lands of Protest-

antism where these tendencies had prevailed. It esteemed itself called of God to make a grand reprisal in the lands newly opened, where Christianity had never yet prevailed. It came to reassert in all its intensity the mediaeval view of church and world. It stands to assert that view to-day. It triumphed in the third series of sessions of the Council of Trent. It shaped that Council's statement of doctrine in answer to Protestantism. It defeated many reforms in discipline urged by eminent Catholics. It put the power of interpretation of those reforms which were granted in the hands of the Curia, where it remains to this day. Such proof of its influence was given by a Society not then twenty-five years old. Its emphasis was upon absolute submission to authority in religion and upon the ascendency of church over state, indeed over all aspects of the life of men. The Society of Jesus was not the sole agent, but it was certainly one of the main agents of the Counter Reformation in the Roman Catholic Church. It did much to arrest the Protestant movement in certain lands. It sought to regain the control of the institutions of education. Where it could not do this it established new seminaries and colleges in opposition to those under secular control. It prevented the education of priests in these latter institutions and resisted the influence of these over the youth of families of rank. Protestantism itself had done only too much to establish the precedent that the ruling house in a given land determined the religion of that land. The Jesuits therefore sought to establish a hold over the aristocracy in the petty sovereignties as well as in the greater states. For the fulfilment of this purpose it became the traditional policy of the Society to cultivate relation with all the enlightening and refining elements of the life of the age. It bred up courtiers. At the same time it presents the curious anomaly that its consuming zeal was to set itself against the vital movement of the age.

These observations are equally true of the zealous propaganda inaugurated by the Jesuits in the newly opened lands of the Orient. Loyola seems to have had such a propaganda in mind from the first. Xavier seems hardly ever to have had any other idea. He left all other work to his colleagues.

He cast himself with his whole soul into this task. He proposed to gain more souls for the church than the church had lost through the Reformation. He would bring to races which the church had long neglected, or again to those which the church had never known, the salvation of which the church with its sacraments was the only medium. No one can question the pure religiousness of Xavier. As little can one doubt his absolutist and, at bottom, conscientiously intolerant view of religion. The attitude which the Jesuit missions assumed under his immediate successors towards Brahmanism in India, and the position taken almost at once by Ricci and Schaal and Verbiest at the court of China, revealed the same curious commingling of traits which were noted in the policy of the Society in European lands. The Jesuit fathers were often highly cultivated men. They seemed most gracious in concession to the cultivation of others. Yet at bottom the sincerest among them were the most inflexible of men.

The church of the Counter Reformation, the Society of Jesus in its leading place, could never have accomplished that which it did accomplish in Europe without a relation to culture and civilization which only its most prejudiced opponents deny. That there was an inner contradiction in that relation we may please ourselves by asserting. After all however it was a real relation. It is open to us to hold infinitely sacred and significant for the future of the world the principles of rationalism and of individualism which lay at the root of the Reformation and of the old Humanism, as well as of the new. We cannot deny however that the Protestant movement was inwardly related to many tendencies of its age besides the merely religious ones. These other tendencies also were shaking to its foundation the traditional order of things. They threatened to submerge or eliminate altogether the religious issue. The Protestant movement had difficulty in keeping itself from being compromised in the Peasant War and with the political and agrarian agitation which attended it. In some places it narrowly escaped the vagaries of the Anabaptists. Even the monstrosities at Münster appeared to many to be within the logic of Protestant principles, if only that logic were

carried far enough. The horror with which orthodox Protestants and Catholics alike have viewed the Anabaptists has given place in modern times to a more sympathetic understanding of their contentions. It is admitted that they were perhaps before their time in standing for certain principles which the modern world has eagerly attempted to realize. There are not wanting those who now hold that the Protestant religious leaders, in the act of rejection of the Anabaptists, sacrificed their own leadership of the reforming movement, as a whole, and made Protestantism a thing far less broad and consequent than it otherwise would have been. The movement certainly denied its relationship to intellectual and political, to social and economic tendencies, for which Erasmus and Hutten and Sickingen and the best of the Anabaptists each in his own way stood. The exponents of many of these tendencies became fully as hostile to Protestantism as they were to the Roman Catholic faith. Not a few of these contentions have since triumphed, but they have triumphed often in total alienation from religion. The most advanced of the Anabaptists claimed no more than some moderate political and social reformers now demand. The views on Biblical criticism which Luther at first affirmed and then denied are certainly now dominant in the Protestant churches.

The answer to these accusations is however not far to seek. After all, this is a practical world and not a world of the logicians. Half a loaf is better than no bread. Here lay the reason why, as the movement advanced, a man of gifts and spirit like those of Zwingli exercised less influence than he had done at first and less influence than he should have done. In conflict for their very existence Protestants needed an outward authority which they could grasp, as it were, with their hands. The authority of the inner experience was for many too subtle. The vagaries which others justified by appealing to their alleged experience were too dangerous. Protestants found an external authority in an oracularly inspired scripture. Few perceived that they were now saying of their scripture exactly that which they blamed the Catholics for saying of the tradition of the church. It is more easy for us now to see all that was

involved in the Protestant contention than for the reformers themselves. It is quite possible that had more been attempted less would have been achieved. As it was, the Protestant movement arrayed against itself at first almost every conservative force in the world. Presently it arrayed against itself almost all the radical forces as well. Then, moved by its own overwhelming sense of the religious values involved, the Protestant cause itself became conservative. This is surely the real point. The reformers were anxious before all other things for religion. There was probably ground for their fears that in the maze of all other contentions, if they became involved with these, the religious issue would be lost. At all events the arrest is most striking. There is a difference between Luther and his successors. There is a difference between the two periods of the life of Luther himself. Finally, although Luther was a man of genuine learning, he was eminently a man of the people. Protestantism as a religious revival had been originally a movement of the people. That was its glory and the reason of its success. It remained overwhelmingly a religion of the people. It was essentially democratic. It was characteristically a movement of feeling. It had intellectual elements of incomparable value. Yet Luther himself habitually inveighed against certain aspects of the intellectual life and poured scorn upon many phases of culture and civilization. Protestantism paid the penalty. It sometimes separated itself from elements of life and culture which can only slowly and with great difficulty be made popular. Revivals of intense religious feeling in Protestantism have shown again and again this same phenomenon. At the height of its power in England Puritanism revealed this trait. Even before its breach with the Anglican Church, Methodism took the same attitude. Despite the learning of Spener and the rank of Zinzendorf, Pietism bears the same mark.

There was a short time when Protestantism was in the full tide, one may say on the very crest of the wave, of the intellectual movement of its age. There came a time, all too soon, when this was no longer the case. It is easy to think of other reasons, yet the great reason was probably

the one above suggested. It was the increasing preponderance of the moral and religious elements over all others in the struggle. Some of the leading spirits were quite predestined to grow narrow as the conflict grew intense. The history of Jansenism in the Roman Catholic Church furnishes a most instructive parallel. The history of orthodoxy in New England as over against Unitarianism offers in some respects an analogy. This lapse gave to popular Protestantism something which it could firmly lay hold of. Futhermore it gave, for a long time, to the people who lay hold of things in this intense way, the upper hand in the Protestant world. It is not true that the men were too religious, although that has been mockingly said. They certainly lacked a breadth of view and sympathy with other elements in life which would have saved their intense religiousness from grave mistakes. Those of us who are disposed to take history as it is, are fain to say that in the long issue there is probably little to regret. It is possible that had the religious factor in the movement been less strong than it was the movement as religious movement might have failed. Religion is of more importance than all the other aspects of man's life combined. Still one often has the feeling that the reformers, having opened the door and looked through it, shut it again in haste and as if in fear to enter. This gave again and again the advantage to the Roman Church which seemed often the only home of broader, serener and more cultivated spirits, and which really was so much less in the line of the progress of the world.

One who knows the history of the culture of Europe is aware that there came a time when, in large areas of Europe, there was more room for the spirit of humanism in Catholic countries than at the Protestant courts or with the Lutheran or evangelical clergy. One of the things which drew Christina, Queen of Sweden, away from the faith for which Gustavus Adolphus died, was the superior culture which the Italian priests and French literary men brought with them to her court. It was so much more attractive to her than the type of learning represented by the staunch Lutheran ecclesiastics who had been her tutors and governors. Yet her abdication gave evidence that she herself was aware

that a Catholi queen of Sweden was unthinkable. James I of England felt the same attraction toward the representatives, lay and clerical, of the faith which would have been his inheritance from his unhappy mother and to which, at bottom, he was probably always inclined. He felt the same contrast between these and the dour Presbyterians of Scotland among whom his youth had fallen. He felt the same contrast with certain Puritans of England whom he faced in his mature years. This was true in spite of the fact that Puritanism had not yet gone by any means the lengths to which it did go in the latter years of the Protectorate or under Charles II. Cromwell himself keenly felt the decline in the intelligence and breadth of later Puritanism, which was probably both the cause and the effect of the transformation of the profound religiousness of Puritanism into an anxious and even odious religiosity.

Bearing these facts in mind, we are not surprised at the character of many of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus in their early contacts with India, Japan and China. Some of these missionaries were of noble families. Many of them were adepts in the mathematical and scientific learning of their time. Upon the minds of the Chinese who were especially sensitive to courtesy and full of reverence for learning these facts produced a deep impression. The missionaries were able to explain many phenomena of nature. They were ever ready to assume the duties and privileges of advisers to the state. They sought and obtained little influence over the masses. There was a certain distinction and aristocratic trait of their work. They really had access to the leaders in the lands to which they went. They manifested sympathy for the culture of those leaders and for the civilization and tradition of those lands. Astronomical instruments of extraordinary interest and beauty, dating from the early days of the Jesuit mission at Peking, stood on the wall of the imperial palace until removed after 1900 to Potsdam. The Jesuits were willing to make large concessions to oriental views of things social and religious. They accommodated themselves to Brahman customs upon the Malabar coasts of India. These concessions became so famous, or as others thought so notorious, that they still

bear the name of the Malabar customs. The Jesuits viewed with complacency the ancestor worship in China, declaring it to be not worship, but a mere act of homage. They esteemed it a mere social custom, and as such not incompatible with the confession of Christianity. They thus met the same question which the Buddhists had met upon their entrance into China and solved it in the same way. For this course the Jesuits were severely criticized within their own communion, especially by the Dominicans. The retort of the Jesuits was ready, that the Dominicans were as a body far less cultivated than the Jesuits. They owed it to some extent to their narrow views and uncompromising methods that they were less successful in their work. The particular Jesuitical concession in question, that of the ancestor worship, was actually twice condemned by the Pope. The Chinese Emperor finally put Christianity under the ban. He ordered all missionaries to leave the country. He also proclaimed that the ancestor worship was only a part of the patriarchal social order. Exactly as such however he asserted that no foreign propaganda could be allowed to interfere with it. Surely this is an interesting example of the complex and ever varying relation of religion to culture and civilization. It is only one of a thousand. It does not admit of question that by countless accommodations and concessions the Jesuits have opened the way for their missions. Their instinctive attitude has been that of flexibility and changing methods in pursuit of an unchanging end. They have thus vastly enhanced their successes as registered in numbers. They have created the impression that Christianity is not inimical to racial customs, that it views with sympathy many aspects of the ethnic faiths, that it is capable of amalgamation with the life of ancient communities. When we have described them in such phrases, these concessions appear as commendable traits of the Jesuits' work. The language is almost identical with that which we ourselves have used in urging the naturalization of Protestantism in eastern lands. The setting is however different. These concessions are undeniably in marked contrast with that which is, after all, the inner contention of the Roman Catholic missions always and everywhere, that Catholicism is the sole saving faith

of man. A comparable claim for Protestantism or even for Christianity in any fixed ecclesiastical form few Protestants now make.

Furthermore it is certain that these concessions have relation to the Roman Catholic view of the miraculous efficacy of the sacraments. This view Xavier expressed many times with a simplicity which leaves nothing to be desired. These concessions have connection moreover with another characteristic Catholic view. This is the opinion, namely, that it is within the church and not prior to entrance upon the church, that the development of the convert's life and conviction are to take place. There is room here for a perfectly sincere advocate to say that it makes but little difference how much of a man's old religion you leave to him at the beginning, so only that you bring him into the church where in the end all needed changes will take place. To this the reply is evident. It is not always certain that once in the church these changes do take place. The Roman Catholic Church to this day adheres to a practice in its missions which admits the convert to the church almost as soon as his consent to this step can be gained. So great was the faith of Xavier in his church sacraments in this regard, that he cared little that the priests who baptised his converts often knew no language in which they could communicate with their hearers. We should however put the matter in its own best light. The Roman Catholic Church proclaims that it cares for the education of the convert in Christian knowledge and his training in the Christian character, within the church. It admits him as but an infant in the faith. It frankly sets the greater degree of maturity as a goal to be best approached by those who have been perhaps for years enrolled among the baptized members, if not actually among the communicants of the church. The Protestant emphasis, on the other hand, has generally been upon an initial experience of more or less pronounced conversion. The Protestant has hesitated to baptize and still more to receive to his other sacrament those who have not already made rather marked progress in the graces of the Christian character. He has feared lest immature Christians might thus bring reproach upon the church,

lest uncertain ones might lapse, lest the clear distinction between the old life and the new might be obscured. He has feared that thus harm might be done to converts and offence be given to watchful enemies.

The Dominicans did not leave it to the Protestants to be the first to allege that the spread of Christianity upon the Jesuits' terms has always left a large part of the notions of the convert unchanged and a large area of his conduct unaltered. It has been asserted, that where there is anything to be gained by conversion, it is no wonder that on such easy terms the propaganda for the gospel is popular. It is asserted that the church thus enters upon impossible compromises, that upon these terms Christianity is anything and nothing. The zeal of Roman Catholic converts has had far too many witnesses that we should speak lightly of it. The heroic fidelity which was evinced, for example, by the community beseiged in the Cathedral in Peking in the summer of 1900, warns against injustice here. That event is less well known to the world than the dramatic resistance of the foreigners in the legation area. It was in itself however an even more remarkable episode. Nevertheless it remains that amongst those to whom Christianity in this form has been brought, religion has often remained an element in large degree separate from the rest of life. This effect of the teaching that salvation is conferred through the miracle of the sacrament and the mediation of the church is only too evident in the life even of European communities. It is no wonder that this consequence has been obvious in the Catholic propaganda, both Roman and Greek, in foreign lands. Such an idea accords only too well with the notion of religion which the children of other lands have always cherished as to their respective faiths. They have been only too prone to conceive of religion as a part of the life of men complete in its dogmas and ritual, in its mysteries and miracles, but without close relation to life as a whole in its social and ethical, its civil and personal demands. They have always thought of salvation as secured to a man if he observes certain rites, pays temple taxes, burns incense, and does other things of the sort. They are not surprised if the missionary's teaching seems to run to somewhat the

same effect. That teaching is liable to appear to run to this effect even when the missionary may indignantly proclaim that it does not. His hearers held these views of religion in general before the missionary came. It is not difficult for them to continue to hold them.

We are met therefore by a somewhat complex and bewildering situation both at home and abroad. The type of propaganda for religion which most easily makes connection with a given culture and civilization is apparently not the type which exerts the profoundest influence for the transformation of that civilization. A temporary opposition to these factors, a breach with these elements of life, may give to the faith its necessary standing to compel culture and civilization to see themselves in a new light and to force themselves to comply with new terms. The antithesis between primitive Christianity and the world of Hellenic learning and Roman life which surrounded it was at first of this sort. Christianity upon Paul's own lips glories that it is not the religion of the learned or the great. Too early and too easy alliance leaves unchanged too much of the life of the men to whom the faith is brought. We find thus often within an area of Christian propaganda elements which are only nominally Christian. They may be overlooked or misinterpreted when men are seeking evidence of great triumphs of the Christian faith in foreign lands, yet, more closely viewed, what is revealed is but a continuance or resurgence of the most primitive ideas of the nature religions or again, the bondage of the religions of the law, all under the names and signs of the religion of redemption. Pagans in Siberia who have given in their allegiance to the Holy Orthodox Church have often changed hardly anything but the words for their religious notions and propensities. One who has travelled in parts of the Balkan States knows well that peasants and even priests illustrate this same phenomenon. Who that knows Sicily or Calabria has not observed the same fact? We have already referred to Mexico and Brazil. Moravian missionaries conceded the same thing concerning the people on the fringes of their missions among the Eskimos. Indeed, one does not need to go to foreign lands to witness this phenomenon. One

may see examples of it among the negroes in the southern states of the American Union. The language is of the New or, more often, of the Old Testament, learned in the camp meetings. The ideas are those of a voodooism as pure as if it were still on African soil. One is reminded in startling fashion sometimes of the truth which is here alleged, as he comes in contact with individuals and groups even of our own race in the very centres of Christendom. It is clear that the domain of Christianity fades away at all its margins. Neither at home nor abroad can the real Christendom be bounded by sharp lines. It is very necessary that we should realize that even in what we call the home lands the great question is, how Christian is Christendom? It is only natural that we ask that question still more eagerly, when we speak of the domains more recently touched by the Christian propaganda.

We have dwelt thus far upon characteristics of the missionary awakening in the Roman Church. From the time of Francis Xavier, who died in 1552, the succession of Jesuit missionaries in almost all parts of the world never ceased. Their work was at first extraordinarily successful in India and in Japan and China. In the two last named lands it met comparatively early with severe reverses, as we have seen. The foreign priests were driven from both countries. The native church was persecuted. Every effort was made to root out the Christian movement. The hostility especially of Japan, not merely to Christianity but to every western influence, dates from this period of Japan's experience of the political influence to which the Jesuit missions aspired, and of Japanese observation of that which China suffered at the hands of strangers, traders and others from the West. Nevertheless, there were probably few decades during the whole period until the modern opening of these countries when there were not Jesuit or other Roman priests in both China and Japan. They were there in disguise and at risk of death should they be discovered. At least, such is the tradition of the Roman Church in Japan to-day. Such adventurous faithfulness on the part of the missionaries was the counterpart of the fortitude and patience of Japanese Christians themselves. Japanese martyrs were canonized

in the Roman Church before the end of the seventeenth century. The work was, however, necessarily on the smallest scale. The Jesuit missions in India declined visibly after the end of the sixteenth century. They were measurably suspended in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their work came over into the period of toleration upon the part of the British East India Company a bare remnant of what had been once a great missionary activity. It has undergone revival, as have all the Roman missions, during the nineteenth century. This missionary revival was due no doubt to the same influences within the Roman Church which have operated powerfully among the Protestants. There were brilliant periods of Jesuit missionary endeavour in the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi and in the basin of Hudson's Bay. One meets to-day Cree Indians in the George's River country who speak French and in whose tribes there is no tradition of a time when they were not Christian. The French names on the banks of the Mississippi mark trading posts which were also frequently stations for the missions among the aborigines. The missions in New Mexico and Arizona and Southern California have been alluded to. There has been no period in the history of the Roman Church since the Reformation when that church was without an impressive missionary activity. There are few lands whither its emissaries have not gone. Yet the end of the eighteenth century found the Roman missions and the Roman Church itself in almost as great need of a revival of its missionary enthusiasm as was the Protestant world in need of the inauguration of such a work.

The achievement of the Roman missions has been more strictly ecclesiastical than that of the Protestant bodies. The Roman Church, and still more the Holy Orthodox Church in such a mission as, for example, that in Japan, has willed to have it so. Their work presents a solid front far more than does that of the Protestants. The statistics of their work, besides being difficult to secure, are upon such a different basis from those of Protestants that they can only with difficulty be compared. The Protestant mission work, as we have often said, has rayed out at all its edges into other areas of life than that simply of religious

conviction and practice. It has joined hands more easily with other religious agencies and institutions and again with non-religious activities. Protestantism in the missionary lands is often a spirit which spreads far and wide from the little bodies of converts which constitute the centres of that influence. Catholicism is a system and institution the boundaries of whose influence are usually sharply defined. It has admirable instrumentalities for dealing with certain problems of tutelage which arise within its own area. It inspires a loyalty on the part of those who are committed to it which is worthy of all praise. Those who are not committed to it are left completely untouched, or else they are touched only on the outer side of life by the admirable charities which the church often maintains. Despite heroic efforts of individuals and of groups which could be named, it cannot be said that either the Roman or Greek churches are at this moment great factors in the advancement of liberal education or of civil and social reform, or of economic and industrial regeneration in the lands to which their missions have gone. The Roman Church as a whole, and still more the Greek Church, finds difficult the adjustment to certain of the greatest of modern intellectual and social movements even in western lands. They are on record and have an embarrassing history of opposition to these movements, even in European countries where, within a few years, great transformations of practically every aspect of life have taken place. There are no more learned missionaries anywhere than some whom the Roman Catholic ranks in China and Japan can show. There are, especially in the monasteries in Syria, brethren who have made incomparable contribution to the various sciences to which they have addressed themselves. It is not true, as has sometimes been alleged, that the Roman Church has ignored education as an integral element in its missionary work. Their achievement in secondary education is conspicuous. Even in the higher education they have sometimes done notable things for their own members. Their influence however upon the development of general education has been slight. Even in the Ottoman Empire, where their institutions were from the time of Abdul Aziz the only ones favoured by the Porte,

there is a striking contrast between the influence of these Roman Catholic institutions and that of Robert College or of the college at Beirut, which have never been greatly favoured by the Porte, and that for reasons which can easily be surmised. These colleges, distinctly Christian institutions, without carrying on a propaganda for Protestantism, have given almost incalculable impulse to every aspect of life, but most of all to the religious life of the medley of peoples who constitute the Turkish Empire. Robert College has influenced particularly the races of what used to be called Turkey in Europe, the provinces which have now gained complete independence of the Ottoman rule. The capitulations under which these institutions worked have now been withdrawn. It will be strange if the Bulgarians, for example, can be ungrateful to institutions to which they owe so much. The difference between Roman Catholic and Protestant educational agencies which we are seeking to define is that between an institution and a spirit. It is the difference between an instrumentality which needs to be defined in order to be effective and that which is often most effective when it is least defined.

Finally, we must note the same contrast in another matter, that of the attitude of these emissaries of western Christendom to the ancient Christian churches long existing in the lands to which they went. In India the Jesuit missions made an end of the separate existence of the so-called Thomas Christians. The origin of these churches can indeed not be traced to the apostle Thomas. Yet even if they dated only from the time of the dispersion of the Nestorians, they might have commanded the reverent interest and sympathy of these newcomers in the field. In the Ottoman Empire in the modern period both Roman Catholic and Protestant missions have come in contact with the Armenian and Gregorian churches and with other bodies representing the eastern tradition, survivors of a Christian ascendancy in these lands far older than the conquest of Islam. It is perhaps in recollection of the ancient schism that the Roman Church stands over against these bodies in sharp contrast. The exception to this statement is the Maronite Church which owns allegiance to the Roman See. Because of this

rivalry the Roman Church has exerted little influence upon the rest. It might perhaps be conceived as displacing them, but not as aiding them in the renewal of their life. For that matter, the relations of the ancient Christian churches among themselves in the Ottoman Empire, but particularly in Syria, are so bad, their mutual suspicions and hostilities have been so bitter, that they have been a byword to the Moslems and Jews. They have created little antecedent expectation of harmony and mutual helpfulness in the Christian name.

On the other hand the Protestant missionaries at first worked successfully in and through these ancient churches. It had been no part of their intention to establish Protestant communities in rivalry with these older Christian organizations. Later they were compelled to ask governmental recognition for the little groups of their adherents. In Turkey religious tolerance is extended not to individuals but to certain recognized groups. This separation of the missionaries with their converts from the ancient Catholic churches took place, in fact, because the more conservative element in these churches feared the liberal tendencies to which the presence and the teaching and example of the missionaries gave rise. This was a natural reaction. In more recent years the relation between the little Protestant bodies and the ancient Catholic churches has again been good. This work of the quickening of the spirit of the orthodox churches in Syria and Asia Minor may in the end turn out to be not the least which the Protestants have done. It certainly is a work which they have sought with a whole heart to do. It would seem as if these facts had hardly been duly considered in those quarters from which objection now and then arises to the entrance of Protestant missions upon a territory formerly held or now held by Catholics, as, for example, in some portions of the Balkans, and again in certain regions of Asia Minor and finally in Mexico, Brazil and Peru. All depends upon the spirit in which such work is done. Few would wish to foster the old antagonism between Protestantism and Catholicism, whether Greek or Roman. No real Protestant is able to retort in kind to those who, because he is not a Catholic, deny his Christianity.

One who has lived however in Sofia, for example, through the stress of a winter of the Balkan Wars and seen the hunger of the people there for other things than bread could hardly feel that a name ought to blind him to a fact, or that a theory ought to hinder him from offering needed help both to priests and to the people committed to their care. When one sees how stagnant an ancient Christian movement may become, how hopelessly a Christian institution may be bound fast in its traditions, how circumscribed in its antagonisms, it is deplorable that true men should find themselves censured as if guilty of an unbrotherly act when they merely seek to aid toward the one great end those whose present task for any reason obviously transcends their powers.

The Protestant awakening to a consciousness of the duty of a world-wide propaganda came extremely late. It is hard to understand how it could have been so long delayed. The era of scholastic Protestantism was almost absolutely devoid of foreign missionary motive. The fact has been attributed to the working of the doctrine of election, of which both Lutherans and Calvinists made much. Yet the Roman Church also believed in the Augustinian doctrine, though with modifications, and some of the churches most prominent in missions in the modern era have believed in election, though here also with modifications. Again the fact has been explained by the struggle for their own existence which the Reformation churches had to make. It seems natural to say that men who were fighting with William the Silent for the Dutch Republic or with Henry of Navarre in the Wars of Religion in France or with Gustavus Adolphus against the Hapsburgs, had no time or money for foreign missions. Yet in a way the Roman Church also was fighting for its existence. More than one hundred and fifty years passed over the Protestant communions after the death of Francis Xavier before they produced in all their wide area, with their powerful national churches and with all of their genuine religious fervour, a figure which could for a moment be compared in respect of his missionary enthusiasm with Francis Xavier, or who seemed to harbour one of Xavier's far-reaching thoughts. The lack of even one such personality

goes far to explain the absence of missions, but how are we to explain the absence of the personality? The lack of unity among Protestants, the emphasis upon national ecclesiastical organizations and not upon an international Christendom with all of its large implications, the prevalence of sects with their fury one against another in their formative period and their utter provincialism after they had been formed, these things all count for something. Yet there were strifes within the Roman Catholic Church as well, notably the great conflicts between the Curia and the Gallican Church and that between Jansenism and the Jesuits. The Jansenists had many qualities in common with those evangelical and mystical Protestants from among whom presently Protestant missions were to arise. Yet it was not the Jansenists but the Jesuits who fostered Catholic missions. There was in Protestantism no central authority to stand behind the missionary movement as the papacy stood behind the orders in the Roman Church. There were no monastic bodies under marching orders. Parish ties and even family duties were perhaps hindrances among the Protestant clergy. The marriage of Protestant missionaries has been almost a settled policy of many of the modern missionary boards. The policy has advantages, yet even now it sometimes presents difficulties. It probably presented still greater difficulties in the incipiency of the missionary movement. The celibacy of the Roman clergy, the sense of belonging to a caste which had no personal ties and whose local and national allegiances were always to be subordinated to their universal duties, played its part. Yet when all is said, these advantages of the Roman Church, in so far as they are such, have not served to enable that church to maintain its ascendency in missionary work in the nineteenth century. These disadvantages of the Protestants, in so far as they were such, have been overcome in that same century. The hindrances vanished, the difficulties were set at naught and even turned into enhancements of power, when at last the inspiration came. All that we have said appears indeed in a measure to extenuate but by no means to explain the delay in the coming to the Protestants of that inspiration.

When the missionary impulse among Protestants did

at last arrive it manifested itself exactly among those pietists in Germany and those nonconformists and evangelicals in England who were not in full sympathy with the authorities even of those divisions of Protestantism to which they belonged. The missionary enthusiasts were at first a divisive element within each of those divisions. Francke and his Halle compeers grieved and prayed over the lack of missionary spirit in the Lutheran Church, from which German pietism never formally separated itself. The missionary enthusiasm of the Moravians was esteemed to be only one more of their many eccentricities. Those Baptists and Independents who inaugurated the first voluntary societies in Great Britain were uncertain of the favour of a large part of their lay constituency and certain of the disfavour of many of their clerical associates. Those members of the Church of England who were at first caught by the new inspiration belonged to that portion of the church which had carried forward the puritan tradition and were later affected in some measure by the spirit of Wesley's revival. It was the evangelicals who were interested in missions. The authorities of the Church of England were at the first unfriendly to the movement, the general sentiment within that church indifferent if not hostile. In fine, the Protestant missionary awakening did not have in its incipiency the support even of such authorities as the Protestant churches acknowledged. The fact that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, whose head was the Archbishop of Canterbury, had existed for a hundred years, scarcely alters the validity of the statement we have made. The Church Missionary Society came into being exactly because the Society for the Propagation was not prepared to do foreign missionary work in the sense in which the zealots of the new movement understood that work. The bad relations which existed between missions, even those of the Church Missionary Society, and the Bishops in India down to the time of Heber are well known. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions more nearly made appeal to the whole of an orthodox constituency, because that constituency was already separating itself upon other issues from the rationalizing and liberalizing tendency of the

times. That Board represented, primarily among the Puritan churches in New England, and then also among Presbyterians and the Reformed Dutch, the awakening which we describe. Yet it also carried with it only a part of either clergy or laity. The opposition to missions became a tradition with those liberal churches which later received the name Unitarian. The missionary interest, in New England at all events, was at first largely fostered among those who in the general conflict with liberal tendencies had lost many of the most influential of the churches and their connection for a long time with the most ancient of the universities. In all the countries named the course generally adopted was the organization of voluntary societies for the furtherance of the missionary interest which those who were prepared to sustain these societies held dear. Nor does the fact that these chartered societies have some of them now disappeared and all of them have been gradually drawn into closer relations with one and another of the churches, as these came presently to be moved by the missionary enthusiasm, impair the general truth we have alleged.

Moreover, not merely did the Protestant missionary movement as a whole, when it arose, lack unity and represent no authority. There is still another thing to say concerning it. It sometimes urgently disclaimed relation to the culture and to many aspects of the civilization of the time. There were conspicuous exceptions to this remark. On the whole however it is true to say that the movement arose among zealots of a passionate self-sacrifice and unreserved self-consecration to a single spiritual aim. In the Moravians survived not a few of the contentions of the old Anabaptists. They looked for a Kingdom of God which had very little likeness to any organized society of men. They went their way with the peace of God upon them through a world which was to them a desert. Or, to put it differently, the strange lands to which they went were for them not more a desert than were the luxurious and vicious European cities from which they came. Many of them were of but scant education, of deliberate poverty and of confirmed disapproval of any form of worldly power or influence. They set small store by much that men pursued under the name of happiness.

Their happiness was of another sort. Their aim was to teach the miserable in pagan lands to seek and find that same happiness in God which they themselves had found. They preached the gospel of the liberation of the soul, just as Paul had preached it to slaves and those upon whom the pressure of an evil world was such that for the time being there was no hope of any other liberation. They were often the avowed enemies of what men call a rich, full life. Zinzendorf was in a small way a nobleman. He inherited traditions which explain some of his eccentricities. It touches one's sense of humour to see that even in the group of his own followers there was just a little glamour about him because of this inheritance. He oscillates between being a little pope and the lowliest brother of the lowliest. Yet both he and they were of too large soul to be much moved by worldly things. Not in vain were they called the *Unitas Fratrum*. There were none of the world's great among them. They had but little money. Their semi-communistic constitution was intended to diminish the injurious effect even of that money which they had. They thought it nothing strange to work with their own hands on the sugar plantations or in the indigo factories that they might preach the gospel in their leisure time and incidentally draw near to the people to whom they preached. They possessed the curious combination of that utter unworldliness which the children of the poor sometimes show, and equally the power to organize the resources of the world which a man sprung from the people often reveals. They were by no means all unlettered men, though some of them were actually that. They were all however prepared to speak with contempt of the learning of the world as compared with the wisdom which makes men wise unto salvation. Some of us who hear these words are perhaps not so far removed from Scotch Calvinism or New England revivalism as not to recognize with a certain tenderness, not necessarily unmixed with humour, all these traits as those of our own immediate forebears. They were consumed with zeal for the missionary work. They were more than willing that we should be consumed. The ranks of these missionaries were often recruited from the very plainest of the people. No disparagement is here implied.

They adorned the religion of one who was himself a carpenter. There was now and then among them a man like Carey, with a genius for learning. Yet even Carey had been a cobbler. There were men like Henry Martyn, of the best blood of England. There were many in the first generation of New England missionaries who were fully the compeers of any ministers at home, and those were the days when in New England the ministry was the great career. There has always been a succession of men eminently fit to lead. Yet there is no doubt of the general truth of the statement above made. The movement had its broad base in a popular appeal. It had the zealotry without which its beginnings would not have been made. It came from the stratum of the rigoristic and unworldly view. If the movement had been fashionable its votaries would have thought there was something amiss. They did not go out to civilize. They went out to convert, to win souls, to open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers. For many and varied reasons the Protestant movement in the revival of missions lacked at its inception that aristocratic and authoritative trait and again that characteristic relation to general culture and civilization which the Jesuit movement showed. The movement had in its beginnings all the weaknesses as well as all the elements of strength which belong to that which it really was, a democratic movement. It lacked the plan and circumspection which an official propaganda would have had. It has been characterized by waste. There has been competition of its constituent elements one with another. There was, a generation later, rampant denominationalism and sectarian strife, particularly unfortunate in the face of the so-called heathen. There is even now a state of things somewhat bewildering for the converts as they come in contact with this problem. At the beginning of the century, as we said, voluntary societies had tended to unite all those who cared for missions without respect to their denominations. Then came a time when the churches, as such, grew ashamed of their lack of interest in missions. They seized upon these organizations or established others to work alongside of them and emphasize ecclesiastical ends. Finally, by the end of the century Christendom had grown deeply

ashamed of this state of things and is now seeking comity and unity again in its endeavour. It is more successful in finding bases of agreement between denominations in the foreign fields than in the home lands. Yet when all is said, the movement had a great spontaneous quality which was destined to carry it far. It drew zealots to its banners. It has always held men of that type for its task. Both at the beginning however, in the glory of its first inspiration and again, in the more recent years of broader and more reasoned outlook, it has won and held men of a very different type. It has won and held those who with no less zeal, have had also insight and foresight, resourcefulness and statesmanship. In the end the creative statesmanship of this free movement has far surpassed that of those churches whose organizations and authority gave them an initial advantage.

We should hardly exaggerate if we said that the inaugurators of the Protestant movement all had something of the rigorist trait. Many of them had positively an ascetic character. They esteemed that they left their homes and identified themselves with peoples who then seemed indefinitely more remote than they now do, for a far higher task than that of the spread of comfort or even of learning. Almost as of instinct they approached first the poor, the neglected and oppressed. Indeed they were often permitted to reach only the outcast. They were the farthest possible removed from telling their little handful of hearers that the redemption of God which they came to proclaim would begin, or even that it would end, in conferring upon those auditors much needed gifts of civilization. On principle they withheld themselves from agitation against existing conditions or from identification with endeavours after reform, even acknowledgedly needed reforms. It is perhaps open to us to say that they were too indifferent to such endeavours. We are concerned here only with bringing out a most interesting contrast, a contrast both with their compeers in the earlier Catholic missions and with their own successors among later Protestants. These early missionaries sought simply to change the mind and heart of individuals. We may say that they sought that end too simply. They thought all too little of the relation of the outward to the inner life.

In thus isolating the individual soul they thought too little of the life of men in their masses. Yet certainly this also is true, that when a movement becomes a ministry merely to the outer life or merely to men in the mass it has lost its characteristic trait as a mission. Those first missionaries were as far as possible from fostering or even condoning those mass movements to Christianity which the Roman Church has always frankly welcomed and which in more recent years have caused both gratification and consternation to Protestants as well. They sought primarily nothing in the outer life of the men and races to whom they went. They perceived the snare and temptation which education and complex relations sometimes constitute for the believer, even here at home. In fine, they represented the view of Christianity here at home which was, of all, least likely to take upon itself the whole vast task of the permeation of other civilizations abroad. To this day there are occasional protests against the use of missionary funds for other purposes than those of pure evangelization. To this day some supporters of missions have doubts about the relation of their work to large plans for education, for example, or to medical work and sanitation, or to industrial work and reform. These supporters are perhaps mollified if it can be shown that relief does sometimes lead to conversions. They find a kind of reassurance if it is made to appear that hospital work may lead to conversions. Yet even those of us who are fully prepared to say that hospital work has a place in its own right are no whit more in doubt than are those others, as to the specific thing which a mission as such has to contribute to the work of the world. We have no more doubt about that than we have as to the specific function of the church in Europe and America, a function from which the church just now runs considerable risk of being turned aside by the social enthusiasms of the day. Yet despite all this, which we have tried to state clearly as to their original projection and their identical spirit, Protestant missions do present to us the miracle, that they have contributed enormously to enlightenment and to every aspect of civilization. It would be invidious to make comparisons, either with the work of other churches, or again with the work of those who

have been altogether hostile to missions. Yet certainly these missions, the spirit of whose beginnings we have endeavoured to depict, have wrought in the long run for the largest cultivation and the most varied and substantial relief of the races among whom they have worked. With painfully small means they have yet established large institutions for the furtherance of almost every form of human good. The civilization with which, after all, the missionaries were identified more closely than perhaps they knew, has been appropriated by masses of people in every nation and has had marvellous effect. Precisely through its appeal to the individual, through its insistence upon the transformation in character of the individual, the Protestant propaganda has stimulated and ordered the life of the incipient Christian communities. It has made those incipient religious communities the centres of influence for every phase of the life of their lands. It has challenged absolute allegiance. It has demanded sacrifice of those who would enter these communities. It has exacted sacrifice of those who would remain in them. It has reaped the reward of those who ask large things. It has won the loyalty of those who, possessed by the Christian spirit, are impelled to give large things. Furthermore, and notwithstanding a certain intensity and self-consciousness in the movement which is thus implied, it has associated itself freely with other agencies, both ecclesiastical and secular. It has co-operated with the state, for a long time in India and more recently in China, in education and in every form of general philanthropy, yet without laying itself open to the charge of utilizing such opportunities for its own aggrandizement. It has committed errors, as in China in seeking a measure of foreign protection under the treaties for its own converts. It has never sought however to obtain for its churches a *quasi* political significance. With the Protestant propaganda in mission lands, as we have said, has lain the initiative of certain attempts at organic combination for religious work and toward elimination of sectarian differences, which have thus far been more successful than any parallel efforts in the home lands.

These complex and contradictory traits have a common

source and a simple explanation. They indicate the way in which, on the whole, the Protestant propaganda has apprehended the essence of Christianity. They indicate the seriousness with which this propaganda has insisted upon that which it regarded as essential. They indicate also a steadily growing sentiment which would disregard that which is not essential. Seeking to be just and to speak as nearly as we may without bias, the Protestant propaganda has, in the persons of by far the largest number of its representatives and until rather recent years, held to a literalist view of the nature and authority of scripture. It has overemphasized its dogma, without realizing how historically limited have been many of the statements of dogma which it emphasized. It has rightly insisted upon an inner and individual experience of conversion. It has however too often judged that experience by standards familiar in the revivals of the West. It has insisted upon the outward and visible consequences of conversion in the moral life of men and women. It has developed in the changed lives and conduct of individuals the only force which avails for the important changes necessary in the life of society and of institutions. It has cared little, on the whole, for things ecclesiastical. It has been sectarian, but more often through lack of insight and horizon. As it has gained horizon it has lost its sectarian trait. Protestants have no theory which compels them to be sectarian. Or rather, those who do profess a theory of church and sacraments which compels them to be narrow and sectarian, are for the most part, on their own assertion, not Protestants. Given such a view of the essence of Christianity, the characteristic and uncompromising elements in the Protestant missionary endeavour are accounted for and, no less, its flexibility and power of adaption are explained. The unvarying demand of an inner experience of conversion, the reformation in morals on the part of those who claim to have been converted, have retarded the growth of the Christian communities at the beginning but have made that growth sound and permanent in the end. This uncompromising quality is the very thing which has made clear to alien races what Christianity really means and wherein its difference from

other religions consists. That this rigidity has been sometimes exaggerated few deny. A conventionalizing of the type of conversion, an overestimate of the emotional element in conversion, with the failure properly to follow up new converts—these have been the usual weaknesses of revivalism in the home lands. They are even more injurious in foreign lands. Upon these points the Catholic missions are often wiser than our own. They have accumulated an experience by which we should do well to profit. That sectarianism has played a part we do without reserve confess. It has been only too easy for convinced churchmen and denominationalists to endeavour to make Africans as sectarian as themselves. Even a sense of humour might sometimes have saved them from this mistake. These are foibles which have lain all too near. They are, however, happily to some extent ancient foibles. Sectarian animosities are chiefly things of the past. Men are ashamed of them. They obviously defeat the purpose of the work. The approach of Protestantism to unity is, if we mistake not, far nearer in some missionary fields than in the home lands. The discussion occasioned by an episcopal letter of a sort recently put forth in an African mission gives one for a moment the contrary impression. It is possible however to interpret even the bishop's letter as evidence that the movement toward unity is far advanced. The ecclesiastic felt the imminent danger of unity on terms other than his own.

One cannot indeed teach and exemplify Christianity otherwise than as he himself sees it. As one grows mature in the endeavour he has less urgency that others shall see the truth precisely in the same way. Apparently nothing has been more impressive to the thoughtful in foreign lands than the fact that, along with the proper indifference to indifferent matters, there has been this insistence upon that which the missionary esteemed to be the essence of the matter. Nothing could be more imposing than was, for example, the patience of Morrison at Canton, who could wait seven years for one convert and fourteen years for two, rather than accept one whose whole inner life did not seem to him to have been touched and renewed. This is not the same impressiveness which is afforded by the thousands spoken

of in the early letters of Xavier, or by the mass movements even in some Protestant missions in the last few years. It is a different point of view. It has been the characteristic Protestant point of view, with indeed such lapses as every human movement shows. It is true that some Protestants have thought of the miracle of conversion much as Catholics think of the miracle of the sacrament in baptism. The work must be estimated by its fruits. It is clear however that on the basis of an inner experience of the reality which Christianity is, concessions can be made. By their fruits in character and religious consciousness such concessions must be judged. On the basis of that inner experience the naturalization of Christianity under the forms of culture and civilization of the races to which it is brought may proceed. On that basis such a naturalization is a vital process. It is not an accommodation. It is not a compromise. It is not an overlaying of ancient elements, unchanged, by new ones which have no relation to them. It is not an admixture produced by heat and pressure. It is not the result of a theory. It is the product of a life. It is a true process of assimilation. Christianity is grafted upon the ancient national and racial life. The national life is grafted into the ancient trunk of Christianity, which then brings forth fruit after its kind. Its seed is in itself. It is the taking up of the secret of a new life into the hearts of men. It is the expression and forth-putting of that life after the men's own distinctive fashion.

This last is perhaps the decisive point. The Jesuit accommodations were made by the missionaries. The steps toward naturalization of Christianity of which we speak are to be made by the converts. The wisest and most permanent of them will probably be made by the converts of the second or third generation. It is the Chinese people themselves who will know as by instinct, so only that they be really Christian, what aspect Chinese Christendom will present. Only in partial way can the foreigner know that for them. The Japanese have taught us that lesson and enforce it every day. Nothing is more touching than the absolute allegiance, even at slightest points, of the new converts among gentle peoples to the missionary Christianity which they have

been taught. Nothing could be more ominous than its perpetuation. No one can study the missionary methods of St Paul without seeing that this grand trust in the vitality of the gospel was the principle which animated him and sustained him through all the difficulties and disappointments of his work. He was eager that the rules and precedents of Judaism, all those dogmas and rites of worship and detailed injunctions for men's conduct under which he had suffered, should not be imposed upon his converts. He himself had been at one time a zealot for those practices. He had now been set free. He wished others to be free likewise. At this distance many of us feel that not a few of the doctrines "hard to be understood," as Peter alleged, which are set forth in Paul's letters, are quite as remote from the essence of Christianity and quite as unnecessary in its propaganda as were the pharisaic injunctions of his earlier time. At bottom, however, and in spite of the way in which these new ideas had taken the place with him of the old pharisaic rules, he seems to have realized that the gentile churches must be free to make their own interpretations and to find their own applications of the gospel. We said that he trusted the vitality of the gospel. He trusted also the vitality of the Corinthians and Galatians. He left them free. In evidencing the spirit of the gospel of Jesus before their eyes he had done that for them which they could never have done for themselves. Having done that, he was wise enough to believe that there was that which they must do for themselves. Beyond question premature assertions of liberty work havoc in the indigenous churches. Unwise concessions bring unnecessary disappointments to the workers. But the like is true even of the bringing up of one's children. The consummation which Paul attained in the earliest Christian missions and which we hope for in the latest, is one to which no foreigner has ever done more than point the way. It is a consummation to which, on the other hand, no native Christian ever altogether misses the way, so only that he had the secret of faith within him. It is a consummation as to which the missionary movement, Catholic and Protestant, conservative and liberal, will have to say some day that which John the Baptist said, as he pointed

to the Master, "He must increase, and I must decrease." With our tenacities and timidities we but postpone that day.

We have sought thus far in this lecture to set forth in contrast the relations of the missionary movement, both Catholic and Protestant, to culture and civilization, both in Europe and also in the lands to which European emissaries went. There is, however, another contrast more fundamental and subtle. It is that in which these two historic parties of Christendom stood together over against that which they would no doubt have regarded as a common foe. It is the contrast between the religious movement as a whole and the liberal and secular movements which were often opposed to religion and still more often indifferent to it. There had been revivals of religion in England, in Germany and in America at intervals during the eighteenth century. The missionary movement was one of the issues of these revivals. The revivals themselves represented a reaction in that which proudly called itself "the age of reason." They reflected the consternation with which men witnessed the breaking down of all authority, human or divine. They represented the awe with which some still looked upon a nature from which the rising sciences seemed to be banishing everything except the tangible and the obvious. They represented the indignation with which men thought of the denial of soul, of the significance of morality and of the hope of immortality. They represented the indefeasible certitude of inner facts and values, concerning which some at least were only the more solicitous when they discovered that they could not prove even the existence of these values in the manner in which they had supposed that proofs lay ready on every hand. Rationalism had belittled revealed religion, not unnaturally as it seems to us, when we consider the kind of proofs for things transcendent which had been commonly adduced. The religious reaction underrated the blessings which rationalism had bestowed. It failed often to realize how salutary the overthrow of authority had been, at least of the kind of authority upon which the privileged had relied. It had no forecast of the benefits which the sciences would confer after faith had found its adjustment to those sciences. Conversely, those who boasted of reason and freedom had

frequently but the vaguest idea of the real nature of religion or of its significance in the life of men. It is difficult for us now to realize how sharp this antagonism was.

Not alone in Great Britain but also in the other two countries named, the majority of religious minded men came over the threshold of the nineteenth century hostile to rationalism, suspicious of the new humanism, averse to a meagre and utilitarian morality, having an instinctive fear of that which called itself natural religion. They felt for their full force the ancient antitheses of the divine and human, of nature and the supernatural, of nature and grace, of this world and the next. We nowadays say that these contrasts were then too sharply drawn. We see clearly that we have not here to do with mutually exclusive conceptions. The men of whom we speak took no such balanced view. In the great conflict of two theories of the world, as these then presented themselves, they knew where to choose. They chose the view which meant most to them. They chose religion, God and immortality, the categorical imperative of duty, a positive revelation of God's will, the possibility of miraculous intervention in nature, the miracle of the influence of the spirit of grace upon the heart of man. They believed in sin, atonement and redemption, in salvation now and hereafter. Believing these things, they were content to put many other things aside. They esteemed that they could do their fellows no greater service than to induce them to put indifferent things aside. It is interesting to note that their opponents characteristically accepted the same general intellectual dilemmas. These resisted the principle of authority in the forms which it had assumed in both Roman and Protestant communions. They resisted it just as they had long since learned to resist the assumption of the divine authority of the state. They resented the attitude which religious men in general had taken towards the rising sciences, the revolution in philosophy and the whole new order of the world. They esteemed that the religious flouted reason and chose to remain timid or even dishonest adherents of superstition. The sense of sin and the unhappiness which went with it were delusions. Men who pondered too much upon these things and upon a

perfectly arbitrary provision for salvation had often been led to insanity. If redemption was a fact so arbitrary and so completely outside of the moral life of men as had been alleged, redemption was immoral. The view of this life as but a preparation for death was horrible. The current beliefs in heaven and hell were childish. By the influence of all these vain notions men had been too long withheld from grappling with the real problems of men's life in this world. We have here sharply drawn the familiar contrast. As the eighteenth century drew to its close numbers of men and women, high and low, throughout Christendom, were utterly irreligious. Larger numbers still were classed as irreligious, and perhaps described themselves as such, whom we should not characterize in that way. Large numbers followed their indefeasible religious instinct yet accepted the injurious assumption that this could be only through antagonism to all science, philosophy and art. Few were able to remain deeply religious and yet to go on in the great intellectual and social and economic movement of the world, confident that after struggle and upheaval adjustments would be found. Some did keep the serene assurance that the new age would again be blessed by devoted Christian faith, which faith had however in the meantime found for itself forms congruous with the other elements of the life of a new time. We have lived to see that prophetic confidence in large measure realized. Relations are now so much better that we can hardly believe that they were once so bad. The development of a mind like that of Schleiermacher is an epitome of this whole contrast. The intellectual history of the youth of Horace Bushnell has something of the same interest.

Meantime, some curious reflections suggest themselves thus at the very beginning of our movement. It is an enigma which can hardly be too deeply pondered that a theology in whose extreme form the view of man was atrocious, whose estimate of the probability of salvation for any given man was akin to fatalism, in whose logic men might have assumed the futility of any appeal to their fellows—this theology presents to us nevertheless the paradox, that its adherents have often been animated by a profound sense

of responsibility for the welfare of the souls of their fellows and an eagerness to undergo any hardships whatsoever in order to minister to that welfare. This remark was certainly true of the pietism of the Moravians. It was certainly true of the teaching of Whitfield in England and of the revivals of Edwards and his successors in America. With modifications it was true of the revivalism of Finney. It had application even to the work of Moody which for a generation moved both the old world and the new. It has certainly been true of the work of William and Catharine Booth in the Salvation Army. Under this type of teaching and under the mitigations of it which even now find adherents, the sense of brooding solicitude on behalf of the souls of others has led men forth to labours and sacrifices literally without limit. Be the faults and failings of this movement what they may, the criticism of these would have more weight if it came from those who had anything to offer as a substitute or showed any large appreciation of the problem to which the efforts were addressed. On the other hand, a theology whose main tenet has been its grand assertion of respect for man, of confidence in man, of hope for man, of reliance upon the will and work of man, has shown almost immeasurably less of the loving instinct of responsibility, especially on behalf of the remote, the alienated and submerged. It has shown less of that outgoing care for souls which quickens men to supreme adventure and puts them upon heroism and self-sacrifice. This remark is true of whole circles of undeniably religious men who, moved by the liberalism of the early years of the nineteenth century, were yet opposed to missions. Many of the objections to missions which were called out by certain phases of the pietist and evangelical propaganda, and which often represented the greater breadth and insight of the opponents of missions, have been historically justified. The very line of these objections has in some cases now been taken in the policy of missionary bodies. No one thinks, for example, as to efforts for the amelioration of man's lot in this world, as the pietists and the older evangelicals certainly thought. No one now feels toward the religions of non-Christian peoples that aversion and reprobation which the inaugurators of

the missionary movement undeniably felt. These are but examples. We might cite many more. The exponents of missions have learned these excellent lessons. Without being too caustic however we may say that they have learned them in but slight degree from the opponents of missions. They have learned them by having to do with missions and by having missions to do with.

Enthusiasm for the amelioration of the lot and life of man in this world has been one of the great passions of the nineteenth century. The recognition of economic and social wrongs, with the effort to right these wrongs, has occupied men's minds in every country in Europe and in America as never before. If the eighteenth century was the century of the civil question, the nineteenth has been by eminence the century of the social question. We came into the nineteenth century with the prevailing assumption that the possession of civil rights would enable men to overcome all their ills. We have passed on into the twentieth with a profound and often embittered conviction that, unless there shall be also an industrial and economic and social liberation, the former struggles for liberty will have been of small avail. We can but observe at times violent cross currents and retrogressive movements. The undoubted fact that democratic governments have been slow and awkward in bringing about certain pressing social reforms has been made the occasion of urging forms of socialism in which civil liberty would altogether disappear. On the other hand the fact that certain states in which no large civil liberty has ever existed are marvellously effective in dealing paternally with certain economic questions is exploited as a reason why men should be content with a reactionary government guilty at times of positive tyranny. The whole life of man has been drawn within the vortex of a discussion of which our fathers had scarcely an idea. The enthusiasm of humanity has taken on new scope and meaning. The old humanitarianism seems now a very limited affair. The love of man which showed itself early in the nineteenth century mainly in the enlargement of charity and so-called works of mercy shows itself now in the conviction that the causes which make charity necessary must be done away. The

securing for every human being in so far as possible the conditions of a fair and happy existence, this is the aim which reformers and regenerators of society have set before themselves. Not a man or woman or child is to be neglected. Not any aspect of life is to be ignored. Evils which make living a misery are to be done away. Sickness, hunger, ignorance, social disabilities, economic disadvantages and the despoiling of the weak by the strong, these are to be abolished. There is hardly a phase of existence to the remedying of the evils of which someone has not set himself with a consecration akin to religion. The cry is that we have too long looked forward to the other world. Let us now look to this world. Men arraign religion for not having put its hand earlier and more effectively to this task. There are many who would scorn to profess any religion save this sacred enthusiasm for men. They see no use in any other religion.

Now this moral and social movement has had its influence also in the foreign lands with which through the expansion of Christendom we have come into contact. The missions and churches in the missionary lands have changed front and altered method in a manner quite parallel to that which has obtained at home. In these lands, as also at home, we have to give thanks that many instrumentalities beside those of church and mission have had their share in the work. It sometimes seems as if non-ecclesiastical and not definitely religious forces had had most to do with this humanizing and Christianizing work. Because certainly it is Christianity which in all its largeness and vitality is thus being realized in the world. It is indirectly if not directly by the Christian spirit that the work is being done. That we cannot tabulate a tithe of these results in the manner customary in our churches serves only to show how complex and magnificent are the results. It was a standing accusation of those interested in the great humanitarian and civil and social movement of the early part of the nineteenth century, that the advocates of missions put far too little emphasis upon the dreadful necessities which were yet glaringly evident among all the peoples to whom missionaries went. It was and still is the impression that many missionaries, urgently

seeking the salvation of the souls of their converts, neglected the bodily miseries with which those converts were afflicted. It was alleged that they lent little aid to eastern peoples in the poverty in which these were sunken and the degrading conditions by which they were surrounded. They inculcated resignation when they ought to have taught revolt. They sought to convince men that these outward things were indifferent, so only that their souls were right with God. They did this whilst in many cases, just as with the prisoners of poverty and degradation here at home, it was almost inconceivable that their souls should be right with God as long as their lot remained so pitiable as it was. Now it is quite true that those who were at first interested in modern missions were interested mainly or exclusively in the salvation of souls. It cannot be too often repeated that it was not a general programme for the amelioration of human life which these men had in mind. Quite the contrary, it was a ministry to the inner life of men through the gospel. It was the proclamation of the love of God, as manifest in the atonement wrought by Jesus Christ. This statement is exact concerning the Protestants. It is true with modifications which have been intimated for the point of view of the Catholics. The missionaries proclaimed the insufficiency of everything else in the world if a man had not the blessing which the gospel confers. They proclaimed the sufficiency of this blessing if a man have nothing else in the world. The missionaries cannot be blamed for proclaiming this to the nations. They believed it themselves. They believed it with an intensity, or at all events an exclusiveness, in which few of us now can follow them. They found all their happiness in thus believing, in spite of every untoward circumstance of their lot. They wished to confer like happiness, like freedom and elevation above the world, upon their converts. Upon " the heathen in his blindness " no greater boon ever has been conferred or ever will be conferred than precisely this inward transformation which makes a man conscious victor over his state, no matter how horrible that state may be. This benefit could be conferred at once. Other benefits might have to be delayed, even those which were vividly present to the missionary's mind. In truth no higher boon can be conferred

upon mankind anywhere than is this victory of the spirit. This is the point which profoundly religious men have always seen. It is the point which those less deeply religious usually do not see. By this one may know whether a man is really religious or not. This is the identical boon which the gospel, upon the lips and at the hands of Jesus conferred. Jesus too, beyond question saw the need of many other things besides. Yet he could say that but one thing is needful. He could say, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" This is the boon in light of which Paul cried, "What things I counted gain those I count but loss." This is the boon which a man in the most advanced state of society still needs far more than he needs anything else. It is the one boon which an advanced state of society has no power to confer and of which a retarded and desperate condition of society has no power to hinder the conferring. It is the thing of which if a man does not feel the value for himself or wish to confer upon others he simply shows that he does not know what religion is.

We have implied however that this other-worldliness was not the trait of missionaries alone, as they went to foreign parts. On the contrary, this was the prevailing trait of the most seriously minded in the home lands as well. It was the characteristic of the intenser religion of the age. The missionaries construed religion in these terms in India because they construed it in these terms in England and America. Rationalists and radicals, romanticists and humanitarians, moralists who were merely such, were alienated from the church at home upon precisely these grounds. They dreaded emotionalism and decried sentiment. They declined to be carried away by enthusiasm. They perceived that this revivalistic interpretation of religion was too narrow. They were quite right. It was narrow, so narrow that in its exclusiveness it is now practically abandoned. In its exclusiveness it is repudiated by far larger numbers now than a century ago. It was narrow. It contained possibilities of bigotry and fanaticism. It was however religious. It had laid hold upon the central truth of religion. A larger view of the world might modify it to great advantage. It has thus been modified. The largest and truest view of the

world could never take its place. For a world-view is never a substitute for religion. Amelioration is not redemption.

Meantime, a larger view of the world has come to us. To a juster view of the relation of religion to the world we have come. This transformation in the interpretation of Christianity is one of the great achievements of the nineteenth century. We see that this world is the subject of redemption. The relation of all other aspects of the life of man to the life of the soul has been apprehended as never before. The life of the body, the life of the mind, the life which men live in their trades and crafts, in their families and states, in their classes and masses, the life which men live in their labour and pleasures, has all been taken up into the great enthusiasm of religion. Organized religion at home is abused and abuses itself for not having earlier realized the truth and obligation in these regards. Nevertheless, a man of insight may well say that the greatest risk which the cause of religion at the present moment runs is that of coming to construe itself in no other terms than these. The danger is that it will come to understand itself as having no obligations save those to the outer life of men. If the church was once too other-worldly it is clear that its peril is now that of being too completely absorbed in aims which begin and end in this world. The peril sometimes appears to be a real one that the very gospel of God, the very enthusiasm for the divine, may become only one more means for gaining for every man his due share in every petty and sordid thing which his heart desires. We must not think that this wide arc is one which only the church at home has traversed. The missions have travelled it as well, the Protestant missions more freely by far than those of the Roman Church. Those of the Greek Church have traversed it almost not at all.

The pietist, the mystic, the ascetic, has always stood thus over against his world in instinctive opposition to it, shrinking from many contacts with it, mistrustful of its powers, indifferent to its charms, untouched by many of its motives. The high evangelicals lived largely in and for another world. To the sincere and the profound among them man's little span of life in time was of but small significance compared

with the eternity to which he moved. In David Brainard as he yearned over the American aborigines one may make vivid to himself the whole frame of mind in its curious and yet vital relation to the Edwardian theology. Such men were absolutely indifferent to their own earthly fate so only that they were assured of their eternal salvation. What wonder if they were relatively indifferent to the outward lot and passing circumstances of their converts as well? It is a matter of history that the primary effect of this teaching has always been to make the little groups of believers, confident of the grace of God in the salvation of their souls, to stand over against the society from which they had just emerged, over against the state to which they were subject, over against the religions which they had repudiated, in much the same relation in which the earliest Christian converts stood in the Roman Empire. That empire with all its glories belonged to a world doomed but to destruction. The world in its corruption, in its monstrous vices and its mercilessness, carried the seed of its destruction within itself. There was to be no redemption for it, only redemption from it. Men were to be snatched as brands from the burning. Their duty to their fellows was fulfilled if they cautioned these also to escape. The early church quickly learned other lessons and set itself other tasks. This was however its first projection. What wonder if this was also the first projection of the misson churches of the nineteenth century?

Meantime also it is worth while to remind ourselves that these ideas of the first emissaries from the West were by no means strange ideas in large parts of the East. Other-worldliness is by no means exclusively Christian. Quite the contrary, there are oriental faiths which have taught revolt from this world far more exclusively and consistently than Christianity has ever done. In one of them flight from the world is the one great tenet. In Christianity that tenet has been held, but always in marked contrast with certain other fundamental contentions. The Hindu, at least, found himself relatively familiar with all of those ideas which were suggested above and some other related ideas besides. That which he would have found unfamiliar would have been the world of ideas of the vaguely religious humanitarians who

sought to condole with him because the zealous missionaries were making themselves obnoxious. There was until comparatively recent years hardly an idea in common between the Hindu and the complacent liberals of the West who were intolerant of the propaganda of the orthodox and fain to take the Hindu under their wing because of it. There was much more in common between the Hindu and the missionary. Had not the Buddha also looked upon the world in somewhat the same way which these zealots from the West now set forth? Had not he too taught flight from the world and the extinction of desire? Had not Buddhism striven to set forth the worthlessness of much that men seek for in this world and futility of seeking in this world for worthy things? Had not it too counted that it ministered salvation to those whom it could persuade to turn away from all pomp and illusion of the world? Asceticism has always lain nearer to the Oriental than to an occidental man. In fact it admits of doubt whether the ascetic, the monastic and eremitic element is a Christian element at all, and not rather one unwittingly imported and never capable of fusion with genuinely Christian traits. Mysticism has always been more common in the East than in the West. What we call the practical has always seemed to lose importance in India. Under the patience of the Oriental evils have perpetuated themselves for ages which the western man would not have endured for an hour. There was something quite striking in this measure of congruity, such as it was, which might thus be established between the traditional thought of India and that of the western evangelicals and mystics who came to India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was the beginning of the twentieth century before any considerable portion of the youth of India became possessed of the ideals of a civil and economic and social development of their country parallel to that of the states of the West. It is only within a generation that large numbers of youth of India have thought of a civilization frankly material and secular in its basis and in which the element of religion has little or no place. We have here a measure of the distance which the life of the mind in India has travelled during

the century, as also an index of the direction which in part the development has taken. Indians now cherish views like those suggested above, not because they have now approached our religion, but because they have separated themselves from their own. It is difficult for us to realize how novel a thing in India is a man in whose world-view there is little or no place for any religion. Until very recently such a man was indefinitely rarer in India than in the very centres of civilization in England or America. To say that this state of things has been brought about by the preaching of the western man's religion is to lack a sense of humour.

There was however a vast and characteristic difference between the other-worldliness of the evangelicals and the contempt of the world which Buddhist and Brahman alike understood. The practical men of Europe and America never turned their backs on this life quite in the same sense with the Orientals. They might be looking for the Kingdom of Heaven, those Baptists and Independents from Britain, those Congregationalists from New England. Yet their ancestors had fought through a civil war and a revolution in order to set up a democratic government upon earth. With them the political sense was hardly less strong than the religious. Civil liberty and freedom of conscience were but different aspects of the same contention. Furthermore, many of them were learned men, imbued with a sense of the value of liberal education. The school was to them almost as sacred as the church. Sidney Smith esteemed Carey a fanatic. He was apparently a man of something approaching genius, both as a linguist and as a man of affairs. Duff was so distinctly an educator that he would have been in some sort a minister of public instruction in Scotland if he had not been that in India. Hamlin was a Yankee descended of a long line of those who had made the wilderness to blossom as the rose. He was a civilizer in the large sense. He presented the combination, often nothing less than humorous, of extreme practicality with the highest idealism. To say that such a man was merely the visionary of another world would imply, at least, that one had not yet opposed him in any of his cherished schemes for some practical good in this world. His baking bread and taking measures against the

plague in Constantinople, his diplomatic mastery over the Turk and equality with the ministers of Europe, show him from quite another side. Here was no eremite seeking heaven by making a wilderness of earth. Peter Parker would have been a physician of eminence of his own land. As it was, he laid the foundation of western medicine in China. Morrison laid the philologists of the whole world under obligation for his Chinese grammar and dictionaries. We suggest but a few names by way of example. Men like these took the lead in every department of life in the lands to which they went. Williams in his capacity as diplomatic secretary was as indispensable to China in one way as was Hart in another. That the one was a missionary with an ambassador's talents and the other a civil servant with a religious mind was, after all, a difference in name rather than in fact.

These early pietists and evangelicals, in spite of their characteristic view of religion or, as some would say, because of their characteristic view of religion, addressed themselves sooner or later to almost all the problems of the nations in which their lot was cast. They addressed themselves to these problems as no natives of those countries were then doing. That there are natives of these countries now addressing themselves to these same problems is in no small part the sequel of these pioneers' endeavour. These foreign missionaries addressed themselves to the secular problems of the nations in the teeth of the bitter opposition of many of their own countrymen. Indisputably it has been those who went out to give the light of the gospel, as they understood it, to the darkened souls of men, who have also in overwhelming proportion laid the foundations of the amelioration of the civil and social, of the intellectual and moral, of the economic and hygienic, of the industrial and even financial, condition of the races of men to whom they went. Upon these foundations men otherwise minded have indeed often built. Work which the missionaries inaugurated in weakness others have carried forward in strength. A foreign government, like the British government in India, avails itself of that work in education which missionaries whom it once persecuted and banished planned. An oriental government, like that of Japan, transforms itself according

to ideas which missionaries were among the first to make familiar. China and Turkey are to-day eagerly trying to do the same. Their aim is of course to became occidentalized without becoming Christian. The aim of many foreigners is to help them to that end. Men of every type have worked at the great task as this has grown and broadened with the passing generations. Good merchants, just diplomats, honorable soldiers, high-minded educators who were not missionaries, there have been in multitudes, in these eastern services among the people from the West. There is no need that we should seek too anxiously to apportion credit. So also there is no possibility of laying upon one class alone the blame for the mistakes which have been made and for the evil which has been done. The praise of many beginnings is however indisputably with the missionaries. For many of the best aspects of the contacts of East and West missionaries are gratefully acknowledged by foreign residents in eastern lands and by the eastern peoples themselves as largely responsible. The war of creeds, intolerance toward indigenous faiths, the endeavour to enforce the claim of an absolute Christianity, the provincialism of denominations, the absurd bigotry of ecclesiastics—these constitute often the dark side of the picture. The indirect and universal influence of deeply religious men on behalf of real religion, the influence of character on behalf of character, is incomparably the brightest part of the bright side. The quickening of men to faith and hope and love—this is after all the thing which missionaries set out to do. It is the greatest thing which they have done. Yet with this also the achievement, direct and indirect, of missions in civilization, their contribution to the transformation of this present world and to the welfare of mankind in this world, is so obvious that the old childish misrepresentations should really no longer pass current. They are too naïve to be even respectable.

Instead of repeating old saws it would be more true if we said that we have swung from one extreme to the other. Christians have repented themselves of their other-worldliness, even those who had but little of that quality to be repented of. Those who want nothing but civic righteousness

and social salvation, economic redemption and commercial ethics, the gospel of hygiene and eugenics, salvation by suffrage, the divine ministry of comfort and leisure and pleasure, are much in evidence, abroad as well as at home. These are the rallying cries of movements within the church and of men without it would lay down a programme for it. They are the watchwords of agitation, the catchwords of popular appeal. The contentions here involved may be in some part valid. They are of significance in the new interpretation of religion, although, in the light of that which has just been said, the interpretation is not always so new as some have supposed. What is new is mainly the isolation and exclusiveness of this contention against other-worldliness. This isolation makes the contention false. The contention may answer as a corrective of one-sidedness. It intimates enlarged scope in the application of religion. Viewed in its isolation it is ridiculous and stupid and dangerous. Viewed in its isolation it is the negation of religion, it is the prostitution of religion. Agitation of this sort may be indulged in with a clear mind by those who are willing to harness religion, as they have endeavoured to harness everything else, to the car of the only kind of progress which they understand. It may be indulged in with an unclear mind by those who indeed hold religion dear, but who are frightened and have grown uncertain as to the real nature of their case. The result for the moment is much the same. Philosophers like Eucken and James have sounded a recall. It is the recall from the exclusively ethical and humanitarian, from the civil and social, from the intellectual and economic, to the indefeasible religious element. Men of insight outside of all religious associations see whither we are tending. They do not respect us the more for coming so near to the betrayal of our cause.

It is interesting to hear this recall upon the mission field as well. A few years ago there appeared in the most typical of the liberal magazines an arraignment of missions from this new and salutary point of view. The writer was a Scottish physician, a life-long resident of India. He gloried in the fact that he had never sympathized with missions. His assault upon them had at least the merit of originality.

It had also the incidental virtue of verisimilitude. He wrote of what he had seen. He took his text from the effort to transform the young Hindu into a healthy Anglo-Saxon college boy. He spoke caustically of gymnasiums and tennis and polo as means of the salvation of the soul. He threw light from this new angle upon the insularity which assumes that that which takes place at Eton or Oxford must take place, if possible, in all the earth. Athletic activities of the Christian Association came in for particular reprobation. He commented instructively upon the zeal for reforming the life of the Oriental at points which the Occidental in blissful unconsciousness believes to be of axiomatic worth, but for which the Indian has never had either understanding or desire. The pith of his censure is in the statement that we thus offer in the name of Christianity much that has very tenuous relation to Christianity or indeed to any religion whatsoever. We are offering it to a race moreover which knows what religion is. It knows this rather better than we ourselves seem always to do. We offer in the name of religion nostrums and panaceas for trivial and sordid ills which the Hindu knows to be trivial and sordid, which his religion has always taught him to ignore. If we should succeed in transforming the Hindus one and all after this plan, it would be only to transform them into sensitive and ambitious worldlings like ourselves. We should have secularized in the name of the modern Christ a race to which the ancient Buddha already taught the meaning of the transcendent and the insignificance of this world for the man whose soul has found itself at one with God.

Allow for some exaggeration here. Esteem that we have a somewhat rosy view of the effect of Hindu religion upon men's minds. Concede that the writer parodies the missionary endeavour in speaking only of one small phase of it. Yet there is much to give us pause. When one compares this with the ancient accusation that missions in their zeal for soul-salvation did nothing for the needs of men's bodies and their lot, we are reminded of one who said that he also had piped unto men and they had not danced; he had mourned unto them and they had not lamented. Nevertheless, here is wholesome truth. One may keep his soul in

the midst of a very miserable world. One may lose it or, still more often, never find it, in the midst of a very comfortable world. Some, moreover, of those who most completely lose their souls are not those who have really gained the world. They are merely those who have been wholly set on gaining it. If Buddha taught men this it would indeed be a pity that the emissaries of Christianity, twenty-five hundred years thereafter, should undo the benefit of the teaching. Religion may be one of the great creators of civilization. It creates civilization however only as a by-product. It is also not created by civilization, although it is often profitably amended by civilization. What it was meant to create is manhood, character, personality, victorious in any circumstances, victorious over all circumstances. In our precipitancy we should not forget that real religion is the only remedy which we have against the inherent tendency of high civilization to destroy manhood, to ruin character and leave undeveloped personality. Nothing is more evident than this truth in our own nations where, nevertheless, the civilization has been the achievement of our own ancestors. It has been paid for in long ages of struggle which are not yet altogether forgotten. How much more must this be true in the case in which a complex civilization has been, not evolved, but simply appropriated by another nation where it has not grown up as a part of a people's life, but merely been put on like a new and ill-fitting garment. How much more must this be true among other nations where the moral sanctions, such as they were, of their own civilization, such as it was, have given way before the advance of an alien science and a new view of life, yielding to a civilization which has, in part only, brought its moral sanctions with it. How much more must this be the case where the civilization is desired but the sanctions are rejected. It is absurd to suppose that we can go back to that apprehension of the gospel wherein the present life and world stood for nothing and the transcendent world with the inner life were all. The same kind of mind however which could once be the prey of that old notion in its exclusiveness is most likely to be the victim of the new obsession in its portentous isolation. The same type

of mind which offered nostrums then will offer nostrums still. What difference does it make that they were once ecclesiastical and theological panaceas, whereas now they are sociological and economic. There are no panaceas. If men once lulled sin-sick souls with the magical notion of the sacrament, or again with the dogma of a transaction purely external to the moral lives of men, is it better that they should now expatiate upon soup and social rights and economic privileges and lead men to suppose that with these all will be well? What is needed is ministry to character. What is needed is that kind of alchemy of character which none among men has ever so exemplified as did Jesus Christ and which the true followers of Jesus really seek to exemplify. It is the alchemy of character which can make a son of God and a saint out of the most forlorn being in the untransformed world, but which will also invariably set that saint upon the manly and godly task of the transformation of his world.

LECTURE IV

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE—RESULTS—MEDICINE—TRADE—GOVERNMENT—SLAVERY—OPIUM

We are seeking in these lectures to describe an expansion of Christendom, more particularly of western Europe, which has been one of the most striking facts in the history of the last four hundred years. We have aimed to depict the naturalization of certain aspects of the life of the West in all parts of the world, as a result of this expansion of European influence. The movement has seemed naturally to fall into three periods, those of conquest, of trade and of assimilation. The movement has had two characteristic aims, that of the spread of civilization on the one hand and that of the propaganda of religion on the other. We have tried to set forth the complex relations of these two factors. We have seen that the secular movement generally opened the way for the religious endeavour. Conversely however and in a degree which surprises us, it has been the religious movement which has taken the initiative in many of the higher achievements of western civilization in eastern lands. The missions have then also frequently turned over the later stages of such work to more appropriate agencies. We have dealt with our movement thus far only from the side of its motives. We have endeavoured to make real to ourselves the attitude of mind of the participants. We have sought to bring out the two types, the explorers and soldiers, the governors and educators, on the one hand, and the emissaries of faith, the advocates of the inner life, upon the other. We may say that our discussion divides itself roughly at this point. We have dealt in the three preceding lectures mainly with conditions and purposes. We shall speak, in the five lectures which follow, of results of our movement. We shall endeavour to describe some effects

of these contacts of East and West. We ought to say at the outset that it is not the aim of the lectures to delineate these consequences in detail. We do not deal in statistics nor attempt a proportioned résumé. There are books which have given themselves to this task on a great scale. They have essayed to catalogue results. There are histories of the military and of the financial administration of the Indian Empire and monographs upon almost every phase of Indian life since the British occupation. There are books from authoritative hands upon modern Egypt. There are histories of the commercial relations of the Chinese Empire for the last seventy-five years. There are descriptions of the fifty years of the life of new Japan. There are numberless reports on education and records of diplomatic relations. There are biographies of statesmen and administrators. There are books upon geography and language, upon science and the ethnic religions. There are records of exploration and discovery, of wars and administration in Africa. Taken together, books of this class constitute a history of civilization under the particular aspect which we are considering, that of the relation of the civilization of the West to that of the East. Sources of this nature have been used with such diligence as we have been able to command. Furthermore, there are histories of missionary endeavour in general and of particular missions. These books have reviewed many of the facts dealt with in those other volumes, but from a different point of view. They have added facts of their own. They have furnished us with impressive statistics. The relation of missions to civil and educational and social progress has been set forth with diligence. These books have endeavoured to register in due proportion the achievements, whether of single denominations or of all the Christian bodies taken together in a given field. There are numberless biographies. There is a vast literature of missions. Here too is a mine of material which it has been incumbent upon us to use, although he who will make use of this material has need, for obvious reasons, of a judgment of his own.

We have said that in these lectures we attempt no complete review of progress. Such a résumé would far transcend the limits of these chapters. The task which we propose

is both more simple and more difficult. It is not a mere summary of details. We aim at an interpretation. Those aspects of progress which we single out for mention have been chosen in illustration of principles which we assume to be involved. Or rather, the vast mass of facts has been studied with reference to the discovery, if possible, of the underlying principles. Certain facts are in this regard more useful to us than others. It is the movement as a whole which we seek to understand. The forces of the movement must be brought to light. The arrangement, even of those facts which we select, is determined not exactly by the sense of their individual importance. We have not followed a geographical order or a chronological plan. There is no attempt to do full justice to this particular country or to that denomination. We have sought typical instances. Our choice has been determined by the availability of certain materials, in our effort to set forth the causes and the issue of the movement, to interpret the present and, if in any measure we may do so, to forecast the future.

There have been advantages and disadvantages attending the intervention of the West in the life and destiny of the eastern nations. Both stand out in high relief. An objective and unprejudiced estimate of changes which have already taken place may have clarifying effect upon our minds and beneficial influence upon our conduct. We can but ask ourselves sometimes, Had we a right thus to interfere in the affairs of other nations? The emissary of education or of commerce, the conqueror in arms, has often said with emphasis that at all events the messenger of religion has no such right. He who has perhaps not given us a profound impression of the significance of religion in his own life may yet be most ready to assert that in any case the non-Christian religions ought not to be discredited or displaced through the Christian propaganda. Conversely, the missionary of religion in the East sometimes declares that it is the advocate of civilization who has done all the harm. He asserts that it is only since trade has been greatly affected and governments have became alarmed by schemes of conquest that relations have become strained. He is ready with impressive illustrations of the demoralization of

Orientals by the representatives of Christendom. It is easy to cite instances of the corruption of simple peoples and the oppression of weak ones by those whom so-called civilization has made only more unscrupulous and brutal. These recriminations are hardly edifying. There is a sense in which it would have been wiser to ask these questions as to the propriety and profit of intervention long ago. We have intervened both from the commercial and from religious motive. It is too late now to ask, Were not Asiatics better off with their own civilization and culture and religion? We have both disturbed them to doubtful profit and likewise raised for ourselves complications and rivalries of which no one can see the issue. We have lost the naïve sense of the absoluteness of our own civilization and even of our religion. We hesitate in the assertion of our superiority at all points. We admit that all civilizations, cultures and religions are in some sense relative. We acknowledge the inadequacy of the body of knowledge which goes to make up any one of our sciences and the defects in our application of that knowledge. Yet we are not in doubt that in some parts of it at least we have laid hold upon facts which will not change and upon values which are such, not for us only but for all men. There are facts and values which were unknown until recently to our own ancestors and which have remained unknown to the nations of the East until brought to them by the peoples of the West. This is certainly true in the department of medicine, to take only one conspicuous example. When we are not trying to sophisticate ourselves, we have no doubt that if one part of the human race has made solid achievement like that here alluded to, these results ought to become the possession of all the other races. Those ameliorations of life, enhancements of power and diminutions of misery, which have come to one people through the application of discoveries should become common property, the heritage of all mankind. It is easy to say and, until we consider, it may sound like the utterance of a liberal spirit, that every man has a right to his own opinions upon every possible subject and to the customs and institutions which best correspond with those opinions. He has inherited ideas of material well-being and still more of morality and

religion. If they are good enough for him, of what possible concern can they be to anyone else? It is declared that our patronage in the interest of our own civilization and our zeal on behalf of our own religion involves an intolerable assumption. In reality men have usually been tempted to make sweeping statements of this sort only because they desire to prove them valid in reference to religion and perhaps unconsciously esteem that their contention gains in force by being put in this universal form. At bottom no one really believes but that there is virtue in the attempt to bring knowledge of facts, say of medicine and hygiene and sanitation, or again the benefits of many mechanical discoveries, to miserable beings precisely like ourselves on the other side of the world. That which we contend for at this point is merely that as between the case of religion and morality, in which the justification of a propaganda is more difficult, and the case of medicine or mechanics in which the demonstration is easy, there is no difference except the difference in degree.

Certainly this extreme argument from the relativity of the value of all human knowledge and experience would carry us farther than we intend. It would have consequences, for example, touching the relation of individuals of the same race one to another, which few would be willing to admit. Why should we teach the ignorant or seek in any way to ameliorate the condition of the wretched in our own cities? Why is not their condition good enough for them, if they know no better? We answer, first, that they will know better. It is not possible for one portion of the population of a city to remain in ignorance of the conditions of life of other inhabitants of the same city. It is almost equally impossible, as things now are, for even the remotest nations to remain in ignorance of the conditions of life of other races. Furthermore, it is too sordid reasoning if we say that we may have to help the people of our own city or country, because if they come to grief we suffer with them. Such as it is, that argument is quite as good on a larger scale. If it is imprudent to let our fellow-citizens suffer that which we might alleviate, it is only one degree less imprudent to neglect the man on the other side of the world. For in the

unity of the modern world that neglect also will come back to us so surely as does the misery of the man in the next street. The well-worn argument that our reforming and philanthropy, our efforts at education and more especially at religious influence, should not be carried abroad until their task has been fairly accomplished at home, gained all the force it ever had, which was never much, from the state of the world in which we could still speak of races as isolated from us, of our own nation as a fixed quantity and assume that the man of the antipodes would always remain at the antipodes. In the world of fact this is no longer the case. In the ferocity of war one nation may conceal its military advantages from another. During those dreadful periods in which peace is thought of as only a preparation for war, commercial advantages may be concealed in the same way. But these are the abnormal periods, the low levels of human life. If a nation in this mood declines however to impart its religion we may perhaps comfort ourselves that the world would hardly have gained anything by its being imparted.

We may hope to have given the impression that we are not altogether blind to the defects of our own civilization or to the inadequacies of our understanding and application of the Christian religion. Nor are we conscious of disrespect for the civil and social or for the intellectual and religious life of other races. Yet certainly an exaggerated humility, although it may seem for a moment to be the expression of a generous mind, is more likely to be the mark of a timid and artificial mood. If Greek culture and Roman law had remained within the narrow confines of their own native lands, humanity as a whole would never, so far as we can see, have reached its present stage of culture and ordered well-being. If the Christians of the Greek and Roman communities had sent no emissaries to the north and west of Europe the whole life of our Teutonic races would be widely different from that which it now is. If the western nations had checked their passion for adventure, for conquest and trade, or again for evangelization, the present aspect of things in Asia and Africa would certainly be different from that which it now is. Yet, with all the difficulties which confront both Asiatics and ourselves, it may be

questioned whether the situation would be better than it now is.

Of course not all Asiatics take this view. Many of them, particularly in an awakening national consciousness, as in India, and in the use of a liberty of speech which no oriental government would ever have allowed, allege that all the reforms about which foreigners are zealous are but the means, more subtle than the old resort to arms, of destroying Indian liberty. They have but the aim and the result of bringing India more completely under the British yoke. Others, and perhaps more responsible persons among the Indians, are gravely doubtful whether there ever was any liberty in India which was remotely comparable to that which the British have established. Western education is certainly changing the climate of the Indian mind. The introduction of western methods of manufacture is, especially in the cities, changing the immemorial mode of Hindu life. The imperial administration has impaired the old provincial and racial spirit. A score of influences are working against caste. Education of women and the opening of certain occupations to women have done much to change the social system. These allegations are just. Other statements of the sort could easily be made. Without doubt there have been those who dreamed of binding India the more closely to England through great and obvious benefits conferred. That was one point of view of those who first urged the British educational system of India. Yet there have never been wanting British civil servants and military men in India who have said that if England had simply consulted her own interest she would have kept India in ignorance. She would never have concerned herself about Indian women, caste and the social system, about Indian education, morals and religion or anything of the sort. Conversely, Indians of more elevated spirit, themselves strong nationalists in feeling, who cherish undisguisedly the hope that India may as a nation some day come to its own, are yet far from denying the incalculable benefits which have come through British rule. In dreaming of a sovereign India they never for a moment think of that sovereignty on any other basis than that which the British

rule in India and the contacts of India with the western world have established. They know that in any deeper sense India has never been so near being a nation as it now is. It has been heretofore merely a mass of more or less helpless peoples, subject to one conqueror after another. They certainly do not imagine that the pathway of national self-realization lies in the direction of a return to the India of the Moguls, or going on to an India of the Russians or Germans. For the present there are many of the most spirited and enlightened men whom India has produced who are entirely convinced that any practicable alternative to British rule would be much worse than British rule. They feel assured that the pathway of Indian self-realization is probably for some time to come one in which they are to walk hand in hand with the British. They know that the Hindus have now far greater participation in their own government than they have had under any native sovereigns who ever sat upon their various thrones. They know that this degree of liberty is a conferment of those who in the language of the agitators are described as their oppressors. The truth is that even the aspiration after liberty and racial self-realization, which is now so prevalent in India, is not the least of the gifts of the West to the East. The gift of the spirit of liberty, as the West understands liberty and as the East never understood liberty, may easily turn out to be the greatest of all its gifts. For at bottom this is the gift by the aid of which the East is itself endowed with the power to resist all the other gifts which it esteems injurious and to accept those only which redound to its advantage. It is the gift which may end the sway of the West in the East. Or again it may so far transform that sway that nothing would be gained by ending it.

In the large the Orient has never shown any tendency so to develop liberty as to create the conditions of a widespread individual culture and of the self-realization of great numbers of personalities, the personalities of average men of whom humanity is so largely made up. Therewith is by no means said that the Orient has not known great personalities. It has created these however at the cost of an almost infinite number of human beings to whom rights

and personality have been practically denied. Ancient Egypt and Babylonia are usually cited as examples. The Arab civilization however wore the same cast, and Mohammedan influences determine the life of large parts of the Orient and of Africa to-day. China is often spoken of as having been always a very democratic country. In a sense this is true. One who knew China under the old régime however knows how narrow was the scope of personal liberty, not merely through the merciless despotism of the Manchu but through the far more ancient and pervasive patriarchal system. In the large the Orient had never known the broad conditions of the happiness of masses of men, which conditions depend upon the two chief factors of ordered freedom and general enlightenment. The East has produced enlightened individuals. It has never at any time or in any place shown a widespread enlightenment of whole peoples. China again was only an apparent and not a real exception. There was nothing in its past to indicate that without the stimulus and help of the West the East would ever have made these achievements. Widespread individual liberty and enlightenment are not achievements of long standing in the West itself. Both the one and the other are still even in the most advanced of western nations very superficial. They are however the goal of an endeavour the beginnings of which lie far back in the history of the races of the north and west of Europe.

The East has had greatness of its own, but its greatness has been of a different sort. No one can witness the triumph of democracy in the West throughout the nineteenth century without seeing how much has been sacrificed to that triumph. He must be blind indeed who does not perceive how democracy also has exercised, as truly as tyranny, a blighting effect upon individuals. It levels men. It threatens to level them down. It tends to lower everything to a level of mediocrity and to measure everything by the standard which everybody knows how to employ. No one can fail to be aware that certain virtues which aristocracies produced have disappeared. This has been true among ourselves. It will be yet more true where liberty has been suddenly gained and men imagine that enlightenment can be had overnight.

No thoughtful man among us can fail to realize how often we of the West are at this point victims of a theory, the theory that democracy is a panacea. That which we now urge is that the East is also coming to be a victim of the same theory. Men imagine that civil rights and economic equalities are to bring in the age of gold. In reality they frequently usher in only the era of triumphant brazenness. They endow with power the unfit. The endowing the unfit with power may be a wise opening of the road to all men to attain fitness. If it is not that, the last state of society will be worse than the first. It was long since said that almost any government is good enough if only there are enough good men to administer it. If a change increases the chances of character it is worth making at any cost. If it fails of that it mocks the hope of those who sacrifice themselves to bring it to pass. In the Occident as in the Orient men are saying that virtues which flourished under the old régime are disappearing. The question is now as to the virtues which the new régime will supply. The wail goes up from Japan exactly as from England that, after all, in the wake of feudalism we had loyalties and impulses of obedience and self-sacrifice which we seem now largely to have lost. Yet in neither East nor West do men imagine that the true course is that of retreat. On the contrary, not alone in the West but also in the East the liberating movement is proceeding. Not alone has China became nominally republican and Turkey supposedly constitutionalist, but Japan has indefinitely more of agitation in the interest of larger liberty for its masses than in the old days when, for the vast majority of its population, there was no liberty at all. India, under a generous and enlightened rule is seething with unrest. It has agitatory and revolutionary movements without number, whereas the ancestors of these troubled British subjects of Indian race suffered the tyranny of Marathi conquerors and of the Mogul emperors without protest and without hope. In Europe and America men are obviously bent upon broadening the base of society beyond anything which has yet been dreamed. We are seeking to do in economic matters that which has been already done in civil matters, namely, to make the oppor-

tunity of well-being to be, theoretically at least, an equal opportunity for all.

France was a century ago the protagonist in the civil movement and it sometimes seemed as if France had been for decades sacrificed for the victory of certain ideas of civil government which are now prevalent throughout the world. So England was passing before the war through an economic revolution hardly less significant than its famous French forerunner. There were those who, quite apart from the issues which have now been raised by the war, feared that her commercial ascendency might be jeopardized in the conflict for these ideas. The point of this discussion is that it is no longer open to Europe and America to make steps of progress for themselves alone. The East, which so short a time ago we knew little of and which knew still less of us, follows closely in our wake. That which happens in civil relations in Washington is imitated in Peking. The industrial situation in Osaka or Bombay feels at once the effect of changes forced by the working population of Manchester or of Milan or of Lawrence. Europe may easily lose not a little of its prestige in the sequel of this movement. Japan and China are likely to take a part in the commerce and industry of the world which a generation ago neither they nor we had dreamed. Not alone have we to reckon with the rise of competition in the East. The situation of the European powers within themselves had become uncertain owing to the vast changes which the liberty of the masses was bringing even before the war. It had long been certain that a conflict of the European powers among themselves would only too surely be used to advance at one stroke the interests of all the greater nations of the Orient. Equally surely it would enhance the commercial ascendency of the United States. It would be used by the labouring classes in any western nation to wring concessions from their own employing and governing classes. In light of such an outlook as this it is preposterous to assert that the West has merely injured the East by its gifts, that it has diminished the liberty or destroyed the welfare of the East. It would be more true if those who take narrow and selfish views should assert that the West had vastly injured itself in thus giving

of these gifts. It may be argued that the West is injuring itself in every way in making the whole world in one moment the heir of that which our ancestors have only slowly and laboriously won. Men of larger mind however could never concede that either individuals or classes or nations really injure themselves by feeling the impulse of universal justice and obeying the monitions of generosity.

Lest this language should seem rhapsodic let us hasten to say that in considerable part this work of conferment of great benefits upon one nation by another has been an unconscious work. Large part of the best work that men and nations ever do is unconscious. There has been much wavering of purpose in this movement which we are seeking to describe. There have been many cross currents. There have been sordid aspects of it, not a few disgraceful episodes and some international crimes. There has been rapacity and unscrupulousness and an occasional outburst of brutality. Yet the work has gone on. The relations of the nations one to another during the nineteenth century have been marvellously improved. The ideals of the nations have been changed. Men have crassly followed their own interests or even stupidly followed that which was not their real interest. They have not however been altogether without the sense of belonging to a movement of the generation, an assimilative process which was leading all humanity to a goal which the world never before envisaged. There has been devotion, much of it and of an exalted sort, a clear intention manifested on the part of men of very different types, to give of the best that any man or nation had to all the nations of the earth. It has been the animating spirit of an ever increasing number of men and women in our time upon whom the gifts of civilization have been poured, to concede an obligation to pour themselves out in the effort to confer those gifts on other men. It is only a hasty and superficial view which can allege that the liberty of other nations has been impaired in the receiving of these gifts.

We may take our first illustration in detail from the realm of medicine and hygiene. No one who has travelled in China can doubt the need among the Chinese of that which western medicine and surgery and hygiene alone can do

for that land. No one who has seen the horrible suffering and waste of life which there takes place can question the propriety of efforts to impart to the Chinese a knowledge which we ourselves have come only very recently to possess, and which indeed we are constantly enlarging. No one who has seen the misery of China can doubt our obligation to try to introduce there practices of healing and of prevention which are conformable to this advancing knowledge. We speak of western medicine and surgery because these rest upon a body of discoveries and applications which have, until very recently, been made exclusively in the West. Brilliant additions to the sum of human knowledge, notable advances in skill which have recently been made by Orientals, especially by the Japanese, serve however to emphasize in striking fashion the contention of these lectures, that such knowledge as that of which we speak is the property of all races. All the races will ultimately make their contribution to the sum of human knowledge in this regard. Here is a realm of universal values to the creation of which all races in proportion to their advancement will contribute and to the use of which all nations have a right. The practices having for their aim the prevention of disease are said to have reached a higher perfection among the Japanese during the conflict with Russia than had ever yet been attained in time of war. Their success was certainly in marked contrast with the failures of the British in South Africa only a few years earlier, or of the Americans in Cuba and in the camps situated within a few miles of Washington or New York. Relatively few Japanese now study medicine in Europe or America, and those solely under conditions of special research or for the sake of a knowledge of the methods and experience of other lands. No missionary board would to-day think of such a thing as sending a missionary physician to Japan. Practically the last of the generation of foreign physicians in the missionary stations or the ports has passed away. Yet this group of men saw in Japan a few decades ago a need much like that which confronts us in China to-day. They gave themselves to meet that need. Despite the facts just cited, facts which it is a pleasure to record, we are not then so remote from the origins of modern

medicine in Japan that there should be a trace of arrogance in our speaking of it as western medicine. Yet no other practice of medicine is legally tolerated in Japan. Indeed the government control of the practice of medicine is far more strict in Japan than it is in the United States.

Western men have not offered their science and technique in the conceit that these are absolute. Changes which are taking place in theory and practice among us from day to day refute such a claim. There is no absolute science. There is however a science which is gradually taking hold upon the absolute, upon the unchangeable and universal. It has reached some secrets of nature. It rests upon facts in man's life, physical, psychic and social, and upon facts in man's environment which are facts for all men. It is addressed to needs of men which are not relative or racial. It has a method which aims to criticize its own tradition as conscientiously as it tests the notions and even the superstitions of other men. It is directed to necessities which have never been met among ourselves otherwise than in ineffective and superstitious ways until at last they have come to be met in this scientific way. The needs which impress us among the Chinese and the Africans are so shocking as they are because they are still being met, or attempted to be met, in the same old ineffective, superstitious and degrading ways which a few generations ago prevailed among us. As one reads of the blood-letting in England in the eighteenth century, or of the medical practice of barbers and leeches, when one realizes the influence of alchemists and astrologers in the seventeenth century or learns of the surgery of the Thirty Years War, he is made aware of the swiftness of our own evolution out of barbarism in this regard. The medicine and surgery and hygiene which we offer to others is not an ancient possession among us. It is a very new advantage which we possess over others and one which is in constant process of change. There is the more reason, rather than the less, why we should invite others to aid us in the discovery of necessary changes. That in the evolution of humanity the possession of these particular values earliest fell to the group of western races, is a fact not without connection with their history. It is however

hardly a fact which should lead them to isolate themselves in their pride. To fall back here upon the conception of that which is merely relative and therewith to absolve ourselves from duty to the rest of mankind is absurd. To say that the Chinese man's medicine is good enough for the Chinese, to say that the Chinese man's prejudice to this effect must be respected, to say that no effort should be made on his behalf because he has until recently desired us to make no such effort, is ridiculous. Indeed he has violently resisted the efforts of western physicians until within the last few years. He has resisted western medicine even more violently than western religion, or rather his superstitions have been most sensitively touched at this point. In the remoter places riots have taken place because the people have believed that the foreign physicians in their hospitals gouged out the eyes of children for charms, or extracted vital organs for the composition of medicaments, in a manner parallel to that in which the Chinese pretenders used nondescript materials in compounding medicaments for themselves. Chinese prejudices upon these points, as upon all others, are indeed to be dealt with courteously in so far as possible. It is however the merest matter of fact that there was no theory or practice of medicine in China which represented any values or rested upon any facts whatsoever. It is neither arrogance on our part nor disrespect for others which leads to seek to bestow upon them the best which the human race has yet evolved and which we are assured has been evolved for the benefit of all.

The attitude of large parts of China in these matters has changed in marvellous fashion within the last few years. Men are profoundly grateful for that which they recently feared and resented. Chinese physicians and surgeons of very genuine attainments are to be found. Chinese charlatans in western medicine are almost as much in evidence as were the adepts of the old school when that was in vogue. Physicians in the ports and missionary doctors did all they could under the old tutorial system to raise up Chinese practitioners and to multiply the agents of a work which immeasurably transcended their own powers. There is still however the very greatest need of medical schools, of

hospitals and of schools for nurses. In the medical schools, after some years, the professors will beyond question be Chinese men. This is the familiar course of things which more and more is coming to be regarded as the normal one. Not merely does it result, that the races ask to take this form of activity out of the hands of the foreigners. It is the aim of missionaries and philanthropists that they shall thus ask, and that as soon as possible. There is no more marked characteristic of the present state of the medical movement in China than this. Medical education is the great desideratum. It is not foreign physicians who are wanted, save in limited degree. It is medical schools which are needed so that there may be native physicians in abundance. It is not foreign administrators under the government, it is the means of raising up native administrators, that we seek. It is not foreign preachers and religious teachers or touring evangelists, at least, it is not these primarily, that we seek. We need the means of educating such men from among the people themselves. We have amplified this whole paragraph unduly. We have dwelt upon some statements concerning medical work which are so simple and obvious that it seems naïve to set them forth. We have done this however with purpose. The argument which is here used we intend to apply in other spheres. That which is beyond dispute in the case of medicine we hold to be true, in varying degrees and with appropriate modifications, in all the other phases of work of which we have to speak.

Concerning medical work it should be said that it has appealed to some men and women in Europe and America who have cared little for educational work in general, and less for the propaganda of religion. Furthermore, this phase of work has immediately appealed to considerable elements of the indigenous populations which, after the first period of prejudice has passed, have been anxious to co-operate with these efforts for their good. This portion of the work therefore, despite the fact that it was not the earliest aspect of missionary endeavour developed, has been the first to set itself free from missionary relations. There have long been mission hospitals whose staff was largely or even wholly

made up of commissioned missionaries. These hospitals have however frequently enjoyed the favour of local constituencies and had patronage from government. Only a small portion of the cost of their maintenance has come from the boards at home. There are examples, such as that of a hospital at Madura in India, where the whole plant has been the gift of Hindus and, in by far the largest part, of non-Christian Hindus. The greater portion of the work of the hospital is done without charge. It is supported entirely from gifts and from the charges made upon those patients who are abundantly able to pay. There are settlement hospitals, originally maintained by public funds or private gifts within the foreign concessions, as at Shanghai, which are yet so largely connected, through district work and their dispensaries, with efforts on behalf of the inhabitants of the Chinese quarter, that they command the sympathy and unstinted support of Chinese merchants as well. In the Boxer uprising in 1900, the little hospitals and medical schools at Peking, which had existed up to that time under the various missions, were destroyed. Those in charge decided not to rebuild after the old fashion, but to form a union medical school and a union hospital. These have naturally commanded far larger support than before within the foreign community. They have received gifts from the Chinese public and the Imperial government, including at one time a personal gift from the Empress Dowager. They have most recently been commended for support by the trustees of a large endowment provided in America for medical work in China. Indeed this Peking union medical work has been the first field taken over by the trustees of that endowment. These trustees have alleged that, while maintaining the highest professional standards, it is their uniform intention to work in harmony with the missions. Thus the medical work has been the first also to set the example of unification among the missions. It has furnished a bond of union between the missions and the resident foreign communities. It has afforded a ground of sympathy and co-operation between foreigners and the indigenous population. It has disarmed prejudice and broken down opposition. It has opened the way for other efforts

in a manner which easily puts it in the front rank when we speak of the assimilating effect of missionary and philanthropic endeavour. It has always been possible in the East, as also in the West, to charge fair sums and occasionally even large sums for the care of men's bodies. In the East as in the West it seems as yet possible to charge only smaller sums for the care of men's minds, and smallest sums for the care of their souls. Yet the rates received from those who are fully able and more than willing to pay for medical service have made it possible to do a large charitable work for the helpless and outcast. In the process of its naturalization the medical work has far outrun all other phases of the work with which we have to do.

The rapidity of the development of this work has been phenomenal. It is the one factor in the network of foreign and missionary influences in eastern lands the value of which has ceased to be disputed among intelligent men. Yet, because it is not an isolated factor but has undeniable relations both past and present to the other elements, it has helped the movement as a whole. It is not difficult to recall the time when in circles of missionary patrons at home medical work was looked at askance. Then came a time when in the mind of many it was tolerated and even grudgingly furthered, but hardly for its own sake. It was praised as affording additional and indirect opportunity for evangelization. This stage also has passed or is fast passing. The improvement in directness of purpose makes it possible to command more generous support from all sources and to secure the best men for the staff. Medicine is by no means the whole of the gospel. Most men are however now prepared to say that it is a part of the gospel in its own good right. It needs no defence and loses rather than gains by indirection. Exactly because we recognize the relation of healing to religion we say that it is open to men in foreign lands, as also here at home, to be interested in hospitals and healing if they wish, as also in church and religion, if they so desire. It is possible for them, however, to show either or both of these interests without conflict or competition. It is best that there should be no undue or unworthy commingling of the two. Those who are proud of the relation

of western missions to medicine in the East in time past and who desire to continue that relation in all frankness and self-respect in the future, would be the first to assent to this. A devoted medical missionary in Mongolia once said, "If a medical school in Boston were to paint upon its sign and put upon its letter-heads the statement that it was a Christian medical school, would not its scientific character be laid open in some minds to a shade of doubt?" "The case might be put still more strongly," was the reply. "It would be felt that a shade of fineness was lacking even in the manner of making known its religious intent." Yet both friends spoke as Christian and scientific men.

A few years ago one of the most distinguished Americans of our generation, who had rendered signal service to medical education, made a journey around the world in the interest of the cause of peace. He was operated upon for appendicitis in a settlement hospital among the hills of Ceylon by a Cingalese, who had received the latter part of his medical education in Edinburgh. That episode is not merely picturesque. It is suggestive in high degree. Too much praise can hardly be bestowed upon the physicians, missionaries and others, who in the East in earlier times, and in Africa to-day have raised up a certain number of moderately qualified assistants and native doctors by a kind of preceptorial relation such as was not uncommon in America two generations ago. That method was inadequate, as the best of those who availed themselves of it were even at the time aware. Yet it stood in somewhat the same relation to the rather rough and ready medical schools which succeeded it in which these will presently stand to the more perfect schools which are now largely taking their place. Even in the Harvard Medical School a generation ago a large proportion of the teaching staff were regular practitioners who gave but a portion of their time to teaching work. In many medical schools in China to-day there are no instructors who do not give their whole time to the work of instruction and research. That medical men in the East have not always been able at their distance to keep pace with medical discoveries, that they have not been granted sufficiently frequent furloughs, or again have not had means

to use these furloughs to best advantage for observation and new acquisition in the hospitals and schools of Europe and America, is true. That they work with inadequate appliances is often true, and this fact also is generally to be ascribed to the insufficient support of their work. If, in the pressure which has been upon them in lands in which they have been simply overwhelmed by the miseries about them, they have undertaken more work than they could properly perform, they are not alone of all humanity in having done that. Particularly there have been shortcomings in the way of asepsis. Asepsis is relatively a new thing, and is often more difficult to achieve in the Orient than in the West. There is no need to defend imperfect work, especially if those who have done it would not deny its imperfectness. There are however situations in which it is something to have done any work. If the record of that which the missionaries in their hospitals, dispensaries and schools in the East and in Africa have done were borne in mind, when the conversation turned on their shortcomings, the good opinion even of professionals would often be assured and the censoriousness of others might be modified. A man whose name is familiar, who has been for twenty years the only physician of thorough education on all the thousand miles of the coast of Labrador, has taken a little time out of every other year of his busy life in the best hospitals in the world to keep himself in touch with his work. He was once criticized for performing a dangerous operation under conditions which would not have passed muster in the best of hospitals. He replied with simplicity: "I know the truth of what has been said, but it is something to be the only surgeon for thirty thousand men and to do every kind of operation which but for me would not be done at all." The devotion to science may show itself in declining to do anything except under ideal conditions. This kind of devotion is however best exhibited in the centres of civilization. A devotion to men has frequently shown itself in consenting to operate under difficult and unsatisfactory conditions and then, without doubt, also setting itself to alter those conditions so soon as possible. Somewhere between the pretentious dilettante and the

slattern, the real man finds something to do and does it. The real world acknowledges what he has done.

When one thinks of the over-population of China in spite of the awful waste of life, and especially of the infant mortality, it is not strange that some have asked: "What would become of China if the waste of life were less?" If more men were cured of their wounds and diseases more would inevitably starve. If the death rate should fall and the average expectation of life should rise, as these results have followed upon the improvement of conditions in England and America, what would become of a people of whom even in best years many die simply because the production of food in the country does not suffice? The answer to that question surely does not lie in the direction of withholding medical aid. The answer is suggested by the fact which never ceases to surprise the man from the West who has newly come to China. It is the fact that the resources of the land, especially its resources under the surface, are still largely undeveloped. This is true despite the ancient civilization of China and despite the marvellous thrift and industry of its people. Of the most precious arable acres upon its surface scores and even hundreds of thousands are inundated almost annually in ways which surely could be prevented. Greater variety of employment among the people, better means of transportation between the provinces, will surely put Chinese statesmen for a time at least, beyond the contemplation of a huge death rate as a good thing or at least a providential evil. Alterations of the social system which are bound to come with an increasing emphasis upon the individual, will surely affect the question of the age of marriage and also the birth rate. Abatement of ancestor worship will have its effect. In reality however that which here comes into evidence is the need among the Chinese of an application of other elements of science than those which pertain exclusively to health.

When one sees a ship being unloaded by an endless gang of coolies on the Yang Tzi or watches men towing boats in the rapids of the Ming, he is reminded that he is in a country where there are, or at least where there were until a few years ago, no machines and in parts of which there were also

few beasts of burden. Human life is the only thing which is cheap. One marks the terrible exertion which these men put forth and realizes that the same spectacle is being presented all over China. It has been presented for a hundred generations. One might ask what would become of these coolies if their work were done by huge machines, with the minimum of human labour, and that the labour of workmen far more skilled than any of these tens of millions of coolies seem likely to become. Yet surely this same question has been asked at every step in the introduction of labour-saving machinery in every nation. We read of operatives' strikes and rick-burning in England early in the nineteenth century at the introduction of looms and of agricultural machinery. Those episodes are interesting only as early examples of a class. Episodes of the same sort and of far greater proportions pass unnoticed among us every day. We say that what we observe is only a failure of adjustment. The failure of adjustment is only a temporary one. Every solution leads to new problems. We are never at the end of these difficulties. Yet nothing deters us from the effort to enhance the bounty of nature, to multiply the strength of men, to increase the speed of movement and the effectiveness of labour, and withal to add to the comfort and leisure of life. It is true that all of our appliances seem sometimes only to have increased the feverish activity of life. Still the life which we now live in these western lands is lived at a level widely different from that of former generations. Life holds more than formerly. The greater sum of wealth and better distribution of that wealth, despite all that is said to the contrary, the increase of security, the shortened hours, the altered position of masses of men in society, have had undeniable effect in our own countries upon the whole outlook of men's lives. The different relation of China and India to the total life and labour of the world depends upon the dissemination among them of the kind of knowledge and skill of which we are speaking, and upon the achievement of results in the life of the people as a whole parallel to those which we have just described in our own case. It depends upon the application in India and China of scientific knowledge on a vast scale to agriculture, manufacturing and

commerce and upon a transformation of the economic and social situation which will come about through the development of industries and the play of more independent and resourceful personalities.

As one travels through India or China or, for that matter, through the Ottoman Empire, it seems sometimes as if the most obvious hindrance to any higher development of these races was their incredible poverty. It seems as if the first necessity were the removal of a large part of the population from the brink of starvation where it now stands, the alteration of an economic situation which never permits large numbers of them to rise above the bitterest want. No one has seen poverty until he has seen it in the East, as also we may say that no one has seen disease until he has seen it in the East. No one who has observed the Chinese man in the engine room of a steamship, in the locomotive on the railway, in the foundries at Hankow or in the factories at Shanghai, can doubt the aptitude of the race for the use of all those appliances by which labour is saved and results achieved which have heretofore lain entirely beyond the power of this extraordinarily capable people. When one thinks what they have produced in cotton and the manufacturing of linen and silk, practically without the aid of machinery, it is difficult to imagine what they will put upon the market of the world when production and distribution are organized as they will be in the life time of our children. If legends as to the invention of gunpowder and of printing and the discovery of the mariner's compass are to be credited, the Chinese have long ago manifested rare gifts in the observation of nature and in reasoning upon her principles. Yet for some reason which is not altogether clear they have never advanced to the application of these principles on a large scale to practical problems, or to the utilization of these inventions and discoveries for common and pressing purposes in life. Yet, as we were saying, at present no nation could possibly be more ready in following the lead of other peoples in this regard. The whole view of nature is rapidly changing for the Chinese. Once rid of superstition in this regard, once put in possession of a rational method, it is possible that this resourceful people will surpass their instructors in

perception of that which is really available for their own industries and in the conditions of their own life. On the other hand, if we turn away from this which we might call the mechanical basis of the hoped-for increase of wealth, if we turn to the mercantile side, if we ask concerning the organization of the business which will arise from improved agriculture and expanded industries, we are sure that the highest qualities of the Chinese will here come into play. The Chinese man is a business man par excellence. He is a merchant before all things. He is fully the peer of any merchant who ever visited his land. In the proud old Samurai days in Japan when trade was despised the Chinese men of business were the bankers and merchants of Japan. That has now largely ceased to be the case. Yet a reminiscence of the old state of things continues in the myth widely current in the West that the Chinese are so much more honest than Japanese. Dishonest men may be found in either country. The myth however probably comes down from a time when Chinese of the highest order went into business, while in Japan all but the lower orders despised trade. Be this as it may, it is certain that when the products of Chinese farms and factories are multiplied tenfold and a hundredfold as they will be, Chinese bankers and merchants will know how to see to the distribution of these products in their own country and throughout the world.

There remains yet another condition of the upbuilding of this side of the life of the people to be spoken of. This relates to taxation and touches upon the administration of government, at least the administration of government on the economic rather than the political side. In the case of China, and in that of Turkey as well, besides the lessons to be learned from inventors, manufacturers and merchants, there has been dire need of governmental protection of the poor and guarantee of security even for the well to do, in the possession of that for which they have laboured. There has been need that business should be freed from the omnipotent and irresponsible tax gatherer under a system which has heretofore put a premium upon dishonesty and oppression exercised from the pettiest collector of revenues in the provinces all the way up to the very steps of the throne.

Certainly no greater benefit has ever been conferred upon China than that which was bestowed by the fifty years of Sir Robert Hart's administration of the Imperial Maritime Customs. Beginning as an administration of the tariff, the very existence of which in the hands of foreigners showed the weakness of China, it preserved a loyalty to the real interests of China which in the end the Chinese themselves have recognized. The benefits which the service rendered lay not merely in the performance of the tasks with which it was directly charged. The benefit lay almost equally in the example given and the standard set. It lay in the practical illustration which was furnished, of one department of government at least which was quite incorruptible. In that service honourable provision was made for faithful servants and then the slightest departure from integrity was severely punished. Merit and not favour prevailed. The personal and arbitrary element in administration, so nearly universal in the Orient, was eliminated. Larger responsibilities were committed to this service, in some cases quite remote from the aims included in its original plan. They were thus entrusted by a government which acknowledged that it could not be sure of their adequate execution under any department in which its own administrative principles unmodified prevailed.

We are familiar with the maxims which the service under Sir Robert Hart set before itself in the huge business enterprises committed to its care. They were the maxims which have ordinarily prevailed in high public service in England. It is not easy for us to realize how far they were from constituting even the ideals of administrative life in the Orient. The British have made these ideals familiar in India. Japan apparently secured allegiance to them in the period of great public danger and trial, but has had experience also of the laxness which obtains in times of peace, for example in America. We shall not exaggerate however if we say that in the Ottoman Empire these ideals have scarcely existed, and that in China they are still the great desideratum, only the more since China has taken upon itself the responsibilities of representative government. It has often been said of the Chinese that the level of honour and honesty in com-

mercial relations with foreigners has been exceedingly high. It is the more surprising therefore that the level of honour and honesty in the administration of government business within the realm has been so low. It is sufficiently difficult under any system to bring the use of public money to the same level with that which obtains in private affairs. This is sufficiently evident in the experience of some American municipalities. The point here is that under the eastern system where it has remained unaltered, even men otherwise good have felt no disgrace in using public money for their own advantage. The theory which grants no proper payment for public service, or no payment at all, establishes almost inevitably a system of graft as a universal and expected thing. The theory is not merely that of corrupt men but it makes corrupt men out of those who in other relations are honourable. It causes them to view a vicious transaction within this area as they would not view the same transaction in any other area. It causes them to view such a transaction as evidence only of superior cleverness, as occasion for congratulation and not of reproach. It results in their viewing the public service as merely an enviable opportunity for plunder to which immunities and honour are attached. This is the view of public service which the degraded in every nation take. The degradation which this view entails is widespread and its consequences have been far-reaching in Russia. The Orient however often presented the spectacle that men not otherwise degraded took this view of public service. They take it with such naïveté and, if one may so say, with such good conscience, that one is forced to realize that the men themselves were not so degraded as they would have been by the same transaction in other lands. One may compare this fact to the status of the prostitute in the lands in which but very slight disgrace attaches to prostitution. The effect upon the individual woman is far less terrible than in Europe or America. The evil effect upon the public at large is on the other hand infinitely greater. Certainly this prostitution of public administration on the part of men otherwise honourable has a blasting effect upon every public interest. In the time of public danger nothing can be counted upon, nobody

can be trusted. Exactly such times enhance the opportunity of peculation and increase the probability of immunity. Even in times of peace the government is always pitifully poor despite the fact that its taxes are so large as almost to incite rebellion. Business is ruined. Men are made timid who would otherwise show initiative. Everyone conceals what he has, lest he be marked for plunder by one who is sustained by all the power of the state in his plundering. Of what use is it to make money, if the government robs men of large part of what they make? This is the history of the Jews in parts of Russia at the present moment. It was their lot in all the countries of western Europe in the Middle Age. This has been the condition even of Turkish citizens in Turkey, while to such outrages upon Greeks and Armenians a racial bitterness is added. The Turk however suffers in his full proportion, at least he would thus suffer if he were largely engaged in the business of the country. As a matter of fact, he has in the rule no taste for business and leaves this largely to the Greeks and Armenians. With modifications this which we have described has been the condition of its own citizens under the Chinese Empire, where there are few alien subjects, where all men have talent for business and where the terror of the tax-gatherer has been one of the causes of poverty and lack of initiative in the land. This is the reason also why foreign trade has never been willing to come directly under Chinese law but has demanded special treaties and concessions. One who has seen the Chinese man blossom out into luxury and go on to large benefaction for the public welfare under British rule at Singapore or in Hong-Kong, and compared that with the state of things at Hankow, Tientsin or Peking, can but be struck with the contrast. The type of man who feels the betrayal of his country in the improper use of even the most trivial sum of its funds is not too frequent in any country. It would be slander to say that eastern countries have never produced such men. Yet there can be no doubt that there is great difference in both public opinion and private feeling upon this point as between East and West. This paragraph upon one fundamental aspect of morality in government administration is appended to our comment upon the influence

of western inventions and methods of industry, because, through questions of taxation, that morality is indissolubly bound up with the success of the economic transformation without which neither China nor Turkey can take that place among the nations to which they aspire.

That which we have just been saying leads over naturally into another area. This is one of greater difficulty and one within which it is easy to raise grave questions. It is the area of the direct influence of West upon East in matters concerning government and civil institutions, and of the relation of these to the social and moral life of men. In the usual case, as in that of Great Britain in India or South Africa, of Holland in Java, of Japan in Korea, of Russia in the Transcaucasia, or of the United States in the Philippines, the point of vantage for the exertion of influence in governmental matters has been given in an actual outward supremacy. Even in Egypt the rule of England was not greatly disturbed by the nominal suzerainty of the Porte. Such supremacies have usually been hard to gain and not easy to maintain. They are not likely to be affairs of sentiment but, on the contrary, matters of grim fact and force. It is easy to claim that governments have never acted disinterestedly in these relations. Certainly it is harder for governments to be disinterested than for individuals. The attitude of the subject peoples cannot always be expected to be complacent. Rivalries of other masterful powers have to be reckoned with. The rulers have to look to themselves before they can be in a position to care for others. These are not new laws of life. They are laws which in many other relations men fulfil without laying themselves open to the charge of knowing nothing but selfish motives. Yet the very idea of a benevolent despotism has become to us a subject of irony. It has seemed to us that the conferment of freedom is a greater benefit than all the other benefits which, through denial of freedom, can possibly be bestowed. Much depends here upon the idea of freedom. Yet the temptations of power are great. The workman is worthy of his hire. If an individual receives recognition for a service rendered to others, is it too much to say that peoples should not be expected to assume

burdens and to perform labours and suffer losses incident to these contacts without some form of at least indirect indemnification for themselves? Or, rather, may not a nation be acting unjustifiably if it does thus assume burdens? An individual may, if he choose, give his life for a cause, exacting nothing in return. If a government does so, it is not always clear that it is not jeopardizing or actually expending that which does not belong to those who make the decision, but rather to their compeers whom they cannot always consult and to posterity whom they ought not to ignore. Yet withal there is a national honour which it is more dreadful to sacrifice than it is to yield that of individuals. It is more difficult to be sure of the mind of a nation in such a matter than of an individual. Public policies are inevitably matters of mixed motive. They become matters of partisan conflict. Issues are confused. We have to admit that even theoretically we are not so much in the clear as to our principles when we talk of altruistic courses of conduct on the part of communities, classes or nations, as when we are speaking of individuals. Moreover, we have to confess that practically even those principles in respect of which we are clear are very much more difficult to bring to bear.

The realm of government and institutions, the realm of administration in civil life, is not as yet, despite all the efforts which have been expended upon it, the realm of exact science in the sense in which we feel that we are dealing with such a science when we speak of the facts of medicine or of the laws of physical nature as applied in the arts and trade. The world has been much longer in accumulating experience within this area of government, of social life and morals, than in the area of the laws of nature and of the application of the sciences of nature to industry. That other effort above alluded to has been immemorial and continuous. The race has been most anxious to observe facts in this sphere and to draw sound inferences from these facts. The masses of men made great sacrifice in this endeavour. There have been individuals at least who have reasoned profoundly upon this theme. Yet we have to confess that there are vast survivals of prejudice which have

never been touched by scientific reasoning, which indeed have been perpetuated in part even by religion. We have to confess that there is something in the nature of our materials here which creates the state of things which we describe. We shall never be able to attain in the science of government to the same kind of certitude which we have achieved in the application of science to industry. There is larger scope for the play of opinion and predisposition and for the effect of instinctive and traditional preferences upon the part of races and of men. We deal with the area of freedom and with that contingency which can never be separated from freedom.

We of the West look at questions touching the relation of the individual to society from a point of view which has become axiomatic with us. We become aware, however, that the man on the other side of the world views these same relations from a diametrically opposite point of view. We hold society to be made up of individuals. The ironical aspect of much socialism among us lies in the fact that it is often only a more rampant assertion of the individual than the already too individualistic order which it would displace. The Oriental, however, really esteems the individual as but an organ, an individuation, of family or tribe or caste, of the religious community or of the state. When we set out to assimilate the world to a democracy which appears to us quite axiomatic we do but show our provincialism. Democracy may be the best solution for certain difficulties in government. It may be on the whole the solution of the majority of our difficulties, and therefore to be chosen. It is by no means the best solution of all difficulties. It has not attained its own values without sacrificing certain others. Exactly those communities which have pushed their democracy to the farthest limit do most to bring home to us this disquieting fact. The Orient is apparently determined to follow in our steps, even those portions of it in which heretofore absolutism has been immemorial and in which democracy is at the present very little understood. It seems to us quite obvious that the East as a whole has great need to learn the value of the individual. It is hardly less obvious that that which we chiefly need to learn is the significance

of men in their normal groups and the significance of those normal groups for society as a whole. In the learning of this lesson it may well be that we shall be aided by our contacts with the men who represent the other half of the world of thought and action as well as of geography.

Much has been made of the fact that, especially in the case of the Moslems, the arbitrary quality of a sovereignty, its personal and irresponsible trait, its right to caprice, is the very thing in which the essence of sovereignty seems to inhere. The Moslem instinctively asks of an Englishman, "How can you call your King a king at all, if he has to listen to scores of advisers chosen by millions of people?" Even in certain continental nations it has recently been said: If you can insistently criticize your government and dissent from it, in the last analysis you have no government. Certainly this idea of purely personal rule has been characteristic of those parts of the world in which the faith of Islam is professed. The faith of Allah as an absolute divine ruler has had much to do with the kind of earthly rule which Islam has produced. Conversely, the belief in such earthly rulers reflects itself in the conception of Allah. There are legends of caliphs who have thanked Allah that he had given them vezirs and even common subjects who told them their errors and rebuked them for their sins. Such rulers however appear chiefly in the Arabian Nights. Few of them have resided on the Bosphorus. As we read the history of the Young Turk movement for the last twenty years and of the revolt of the constitutionalists we were at first disposed to believe that, without for a moment ceasing to be zealous Moslems, many leading spirits in the Ottoman Empire had come to feel that the great cause of the miseries of their country at home and of its discredit abroad was the irresponsible tyranny of the Sultan. It was the personal quality of his government, the espionage to which he resorted, his jealousy of all who showed any initiative, his resistance of every reform and refusal of every acknowledgment of the rights of his subjects.

Yet almost from the first it became evident that the adventurers who had seized upon the power in the new régime were as irresponsible and tyrannical as the Sultan

under the old. They were far more reckless. The constitutional régime fulfilled none of the hopes which were at first cherished concerning it. In its effort to Osmanize the Balkans it provoked a revolt which its efforts to modernize the Asiatic provinces and Arabia left it without the power to meet. It had practically lost its hold in Europe. Of this loss the outside world is naturally more cognizant than it was of the terrible shrinkage of Ottoman territory for which the constitutionalists so bitterly blamed Abdul Hamid. In the stress of the Balkan wars and in the struggle with Italy which ended in the loss of Tripoli, all reforms, judicial and educational, social and commercial, which had been promised had been postponed. There were even lapses toward government by assassination. At one moment it seemed probable that Constantinople itself would fall. The energy with which the Turks took advantage, however, of the quarrels of the Balkan allies and once more availed themselves of the jealousies of the great powers, showed that the Ottoman Empire was not dead. All this was done even before the participation of Turkey in the general European War. No such thing as a revision of principles touching the very roots of governmental existence can take place in a few years. It must be a process for generations. It took our own ancestors centuries to create the institutions which the Turks are seeking to appropriate over night. Reforms must come from the Turks themselves, if the Empire is not to fall to pieces and become a prey to other powers. Yet the Turks are by no means the most intelligent portion of the population. They are but a small part of the whole people over whom the Sultan rules. They are, on the whole, the least able and industrious part. The tragedy of the Armenians is likely to turn out to be a tragedy for the Turks. Not merely are the best artisans and merchants thus cut off, but the race which has furnished the Empire the greatest number of its learned men, its statesmen and administrators, is destroyed. The state is no racial nor religious unity. It contains many fiercely hostile elements within itself. The masses of the people are completely unprepared for the changes which constitutionalism would force upon them.

Portions of the people have always been excluded from any share in the government. There is moreover an instinctive hatred among the masses for all things western and Christian which is the heritage of centuries of ferocious conflict. We had sometimes feared the proclamation of a holy war. The militarist party among the constitutionalists was, however, exactly that which was most obviously under the influence of the representatives of western civilization and most alienated from that portion of the population to which appeal would have to be made in case of a holy war. Its zeal on behalf of a holy war would be only too obviously mixed with motives other than those which could appeal to the unnumbered multitudes of fanatical Orientals which would have to be counted on before a holy war could succeed.

If we ask for the secret of the dissemination of western political ideas within the Ottoman Empire, one may indeed attach some significance to the travels of Ottomans in Europe and to the presence of Europeans of many nationalities and of many occupations in Turkey ever since the Crimean War. The treaty which ended that war gave Turkey a place among European nations which it had never had before. Still it can hardly be denied that the movement of which we speak was due in by far the largest measure to the work of education which the western schools and colleges, primarily those established by the American missions, had long before inaugurated. The missionaries found the way barred to direct religious influence upon the Jews who had been the first object of their solicitude. They could scarcely approach the Moslem community. Even their early influence with the ancient Christian communities declined. No path was open to them save that of the establishment of schools and of the press. They were thus led somewhat against their will to the course by which in the end they have probably done most for the country at large. It has sometimes been alleged that the missions gave themselves secretly to agitation and became centres of sedition. When one knows the vigilance of the espionage and the censorship to which every act, whether of foreigners or of natives, in the Ottoman Empire was long subjected, this seems in the last degree unlikely. When one reflects upon the antecedent hostility

to western and Christian institutions, upon the Turkish repugnance to the treaties under which these were established, upon the readiness to withdraw these privileges upon the slightest excuse, one must be credulous indeed who could believe such an accusation. At the same time, it admits of no question that these western schools and presses, and particularly those of the Protestant missions, could not be in the land at all, they could not establish and continue their work of instruction, they could not disseminate their literature, even if that instruction and literature were carefully calculated to avoid offence, without being centres of an influence which in the end was bound to have immense effect. Colleges like Robert College at Constantinople and the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, and the Constantinople College for Women, with seven or eight others in Asia Minor which might be named, could not teach history and literature, science and international law, economics and modern languages, without opening the minds of the students of many races and religions who resorted to them to a whole world of new ideas. The first of the colleges named separated itself fifty years ago from the American Board which had founded it. This was because of the mistaken policy temporarily adopted by the Board with reference to education. The college gained, however, not merely liberty from supervision by authorities who were for the moment not in full sympathy with educational ends. It gained closer relation to the peoples among whom it worked. All three of the colleges first named are growing into real universities. They have had the grateful admiration of Moslems and Christian Orientals alike, whom they count among their staunchest friends. There is perhaps no worthier example of the effect of the patient and ingenuous effort to do nothing but to seek the general enlightenment and quickening of a people, and to leave all ulterior effects of that stimulus to be cared for by the people themselves in the manner which might seem to them good.

Ten years ago Professor Vambery of Budapest, uttering the wisdom of a long lifetime of intimate acquaintance with Ottoman affairs and of genuine sympathy with Islam, expressed the doubt whether the problem of Turkey could

ever be worked out without foreign intervention; whether if Ottoman autonomy were once lost it could ever be regained. He questioned whether the Moslems would not then become like the Jews in the world, a people with a faith indeed but without a nationality. Already by far the larger part of the Moslems in the world live under Christian sovereignty. One would not have said at the end of a year from the close of the second Balkan War, that with a new loan from France and with the assured friendship of Germany, the end of Ottoman autonomy appeared to be near. On the other hand, with the entrance of Turkey upon the conflict of the great powers of the West amongst themselves the Ottoman question certainly entered upon a new stage. The occidentalizing which was obviously in process could hardly have been the secret of a re-creation of the Ottoman world, even had it been much more extensive and thorough than it was. Yet it might have been the means of indefinitely postponing a decline which apart from this process, so far as we can see, would have been swift and sure. The rather trifling measure of occidentalizing however which Turkey had as yet undergone, and which tempted the Turks to try to play a part in the gigantic crisis of the West, almost inevitably ends the autonomy of the Ottoman Empire.

Turning for a moment to China and its governmental questions, already one hears the query, Will the Chinese people be able to work out their own problems without foreign aid or rather, with only the moral aid and support, the educational stimulus and the financial backing which is their due? Will these latter elements suffice and with them will the Chinese continue to be the arbiters of their own destiny? In the period between the entrance of the armies of the allies upon Peking in August 1900, and the return of the Dowager in October 1901, there were many who talked glibly of a partitionment of China as a thing easy to be accomplished and perhaps the only course in the emergency. There are few who are not now well assured that Europe escaped difficulties and dangers almost beyond conception by declining such responsibilities. Surely the western nations, most of them, now view the expansion of their territory, the conquest of their neighbour's

territory, the tenure of provinces in far corners of the earth, in much soberer light than formerly. Those of them who do not view soberly such aggrandisement reveal their lack of experience. Most of the nations instinctively reckon with the long consequences of such steps. We should not think of denying our obligation to aid in the development of other peoples. We perceive however that the greatest factor in their development must be the free play of the peoples themselves. The good of the world is common property. The destiny of the strong is to be compelled to serve the weak. The innermost secret of the development of the weak is however the fostering and not the extinction of their individuality. In the last analysis, the civilization of every race is a question for the race itself. All that other people, with the best intention in the world, can do is to create the opportunity whereby that race may work out its own salvation. After wresting Kiaio Chow from Germany in the spring of 1915, Japan brought heavy pressure to bear upon China. For a moment it seemed as if war was inevitable. Nations which had been the traditional helpers of China were powerless in the crisis of the war. It seems indeed probable that the influence of all the western nations in China will be diminished by the war. Concessions which the Japanese demanded the president of the Chinese Republic could not grant without endangering his political control of his own country. In the end the agreement reached was indeed humiliating yet not unprofitable to the Chinese. It is certain that the Chinese dread intervention on the part of Japan in the affairs of their country.

Step by step in the arrangement which we are following we have moved away from the areas in which the intervention of one people in the life of another can be justified on the basis of altogether indisputable facts. We gradually leave behind us those items in which the issue of such intervention can be shown to be unquestionably good. We find ourselves already speaking of aspects of life in which it is no longer possible to make out a clear case. We seemed to have sure ground under our feet as we thought of medicine and sanitation, of irrigation and scientific dealing with the

conditions of famine, of the applications of technical knowledge to trades. We have admitted however that in the region of the civil and social life of men there are factors in respect of which intervention, even if well meant, awakens our mistrust. We realize that here our own ideas are in considerable part deposit of the customs of our ancestors, of the experience and proclivities of our race. Our thinking shows the influence of moral notions and religious convictions which other races do not share. Much that is sacred to them appears indifferent to us, and the converse is equally true. The history of the contacts of high-minded men with races for whose conduct they have been made responsible is most interesting at this point. The history of the impact of one moral system upon another illustrates this contention upon the largest scale. Governors of India like Lord William Bentinck sought from conviction to be strictly neutral in religious matters. This was not always because they had no religious opinions of their own. It was because they felt that government should guarantee the rights of the inner life of all men. The inner life has however inevitable consequences for the outward conduct of men. Lord Bentinck found himself forced to put an end to the practice of sati, the burning of widows upon the pyres of their dead husbands. Yet this course laid him open to severe accusation. The ceremony in question was sustained by its supposed relation to a faith held with fanatical intensity by millions whose rights the government had repeatedly pledged itself to respect. It had relation to a social order with which, other things being equal, the governor did not wish to interfere. The case was similar in the long conflict against thagism and dacoity. These practices also, viewed in one way, constituted offences against humanity which could not be endured in a civilized state. They were a menace to fundamental law and order. Yet in the view of others, they had their root in religion. Religious ceremonies involving torture or self-torture and self-mutilation, with those demanding prostitution, raised questions of extraordinary difficulty to a governor who really intended to be fair and of liberal mind and not merely to judge every question according to his own convictions. Upon

no topic is a people so sensitive as in respect of its religion. With no subject does an enlightened public sentiment or a wise ruler wish to deal more considerately. Yet upon this margin lie even now such questions in India as those of betrothal in infancy, of marriage of girls in merest childhood and of the re-marriage of widows. Indian sentiment is itself divided upon these questions. To us these customs seem to infringe the rights of personality, to provoke immorality or again to work injury to the physical and mental powers of both parents and offspring. To others, they appear as a sacred tradition which it is impious to submit to the judgment of strangers who do not pretend to share the convictions from which these customs are said to arise. It is one thing for the British government to have stood for justice in questions of property right, or in the punishment of conceded crimes. It is quite another to have worked steadily for a change of public sentiment in matters which were by no means always conceded to be offences against men, but which were on the contrary often defended as expressing homage to the gods. That Indian judges now join hands with the foreigner in executing laws against these evils, that Indian representatives have had their share in framing these laws, that Indian public sentiment on the whole sustains them, that enthusiasts in the younger generation can be found whose zeal to defend their country so far transcends their knowledge that they even deny that such evils ever prevailed, is indeed a tribute to the marvellous change which the times, mainly since 1858, have brought about.

Less difficult in principle has been the question of African slavery and of the slave trade. The dealing with these questions has however presented enormous difficulties in practice. It has afforded opportunity for deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice the history of which constitutes one of the brightest chapters in the record of the relation of Europeans to the children of that which used to be called the Dark Continent. It was indeed high time that there should be a bright chapter after the many dark ones which had preceded it. Just why Africans should have been singled out to be the victims of this abuse in all periods of their history and

at the hands of practically every race which ever came into contact with them, it would be difficult to say. Slavery has existed in all ages and certainly in very many different countries. It had place in the brilliant civilization of Greece. It accorded with Plato's ideal of the state. It was fundamental to Roman society. Often it was an incident of conquest. It was confined to no one race of the conquered. Among the Hebrews, if we may believe that the ideal embodied in the later code ever came to represent the national practice, servitude was terminable by law. Often it was a condition to which little odium was attached. No one continent except Africa has however been in all its coasts and wildernesses a perennial source of commercialized supply of slaves. No one race has been made to wear in this manner the chains of every other as if it had been created for that particular end. It is true that in all its long history the black race has never developed any high civilization except in contact with other races. This is suggestive. On the other hand, no one group of peoples has ever been so degraded by its contacts with other races as has the African. No contacts have been so debasing to the other races as have those with a people looked upon as if created to be preyed upon, abused and enslaved. That the African wilderness has not been absolutely depopulated by that which its inhabitants have suffered witnesses to the amazing fertility of the race and also perhaps to their childlike lightness of heart which, by contrast with the long anguish of their history, is one of the most touching things about them. Only recently have we had an adequate history of the American participation in the slave trade. It is a history the horror of which cannot be exaggerated.

As the ideas of humanity of which we have often spoken in these lectures began to emerge at the end of the eighteenth century, as the sentiment of human rights, the sense of the preciousness of human life and of the inexcusableness of much of human suffering came to be felt, the history of our ancestors, on one side of the sea and the other, in their dealing with the black race in slavery and in the slave trade stood out in all of its atrocity. Men who never before felt it were horror stricken. This was true not merely of men

confessedly religious but of many others. In fact, the smug defence of slavery upon the part of some of the churches was the thing which alienated many of the humane from religion. In the cotton raising states of the American Union before the war African slavery was for a time very generally supported by the influence of the clergy and the church. That scandal had in the North the effect that many abolitionists were bitterly hostile to the church. It had also the effect that several of the greater ecclesiastical bodies which were represented at the South were rent in twain and exist to this day in two fragments divided by an issue which has been dead for fifty years. The facts afford a painful illustration of the way in which organized religion sometimes falls behind in the advance of real religion. The fact that the American democracy, so moved as it had been by the cry of the French Revolution for liberty, equality and fraternity, should have been the last great nation on the earth to desist from the slave trade and to abolish slavery, is an anomaly which, as it recedes from us now into the historic background, appears almost incredible. Yet the unhappy complication to which all human affairs are subject receives illustration from yet another side. The British who had taken honourable precedence of us by one and in some places by two generations in the abolition, first of the trade and then of slavery, were yet on the whole disposed to take the side of the South against the North in the contention for state rights. This state of things had relation no doubt to the general jealousy of the growing republic on the other side of the sea. It had far closer relation to the fact that the cotton trade had large place in the industrial development of England itself.

Already before the time of the liberation of the Africans in America travellers and missionaries had brought to the attention of the British public the destructive wars of one African tribe upon another in the interest of the slave trade and, before all, the immemorial iniquity of the Arab slave raiding. It was this general situation which Livingstone described as "the open sore of the world." Africa was, even only a generation ago, in large measure, the Africa of Burton and Speke, of Grant and Thompson, of Schwein-

furth and Cameron, of Livingstone and Stanley. The great partitionment of Africa had not yet taken place. The shores of Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza were in the hands of Arab and African slave traders. These places were beyond the patrol of those settlements on the east coast where beginnings of opposition to the trade had been made. Little had been done to crush the traffic which was eating out the heart of Africa. Gordon had not crowned a great life with a worthy death on the ramparts of Khartum. Egypt was only just becoming the firm seat of British administration and the point of departure for expeditions into the Soudan, as well as the model for the protectorates which England and other countries have established over Zanzibar, over East Equatorial Africa, Uganda, Nigeria and other areas. Kitchener's campaign of Omdurman had not yet broken the forces left by the wonderful career of the Mahdi, the last force to raise the standard of what could really be called a Holy War. The railway had not yet made such careers as that of the Mahdi henceforth impossible.

Those Europeans who land to-day at Mombasa, fee a porter, purchase a railway ticket and take the express for Uganda, can hardly imagine the state of things in which, only forty years ago, Sir John Kirk was tactfully working for the possession of Zanzibar which he thought to be the key to the whole problem of the interior. We can hardly put ourselves back in the days when Hannington was joyously setting out on the journey which was soon to lead to his martyrdom. There was scarcely a sign yet that Livingstone's prayers would be answered. The slave trade had its ramifications all through Central Africa and as far as the Upper Congo. Men now living can recall the time when the whole interior was in the hands either of native chiefs or else of Arabs and half-castes who, many of them, had but one object. Their ambition was to buy and transport to the coast and there to sell again as many of the wretched inhabitants as they could possibly lay their hands upon. Tens of thousands were thus annually brought down to the coast. As many more were left dead beside the roads. Within so short a time the African slave trade as it then existed has been practically extinguished. The remnants of it which are

still in the hands of natives are small and surely doomed. This is a wonderful achievement. It is the result of sacrifices in war and of the labours of peace, of the policy of governments and of the consecration of individuals. It is a chapter bright with the record of disinterestedness and fidelity to principle and, as well, of individual valour and devotion which do honour to all who had a share in the work. It is not unjust to others to say that by far the largest share falls to the credit of Great Britain and her sons. The problem of the negroes under the protectorates is serious. The industrial situation of the negroes in the great colonies of the south of Africa is grave. This is however only the parallel of the problem of the enfranchised negroes in our own Southern States. It is a problem more complex and baffling than was that of the slaves. Yet no one now doubts that the making of an end of slavery in America was right. The thing was monstrous. It had to be done away, although the effort threatened the nation's life. Christendom could not tolerate it. By that conflict were set free those forces of the race itself by which alone the redemption of the race is to be achieved. We must now cheerfully face the consequences of having done away with slavery. Or rather, we must face the consequences of having tolerated the slavery which so much needed to be done away. Similarly, by the end of the trade in Africa the forces of the black race are set free. This is true although a race pitifully helpless in some ways is thus brought into competition with the Chinese and the Tamil Indians in the mines and made a pawn in the game which has been so recklessly played by the Africanders and the British, by the Germans and the Portuguese, on the great farms and ranches at the South. The negro's tribal relations are broken up. His families are scattered. Even the languages of the smaller groups tend to disappear. He was virtually enslaved again under the Belgians. He is shut out of the trades unions. He has but very qualified civil rights and all too little industrial education. He is the victim of the white man's vices and diseases. Nevertheless when all is said and all deductions have been made, perhaps no paragraph which we have written more truly illustrates the title which we have chosen, the expansion of Christendom

and the naturalization of Christianity, than does this of the approaching end of African slavery and of the slave trade.

The unfolding of this chapter gives occasion for renewed reflection upon a problem on the edge of which we have paused more than once in this discussion. It is the problem of the relation of the religious view of such questions and of the activity of professed emissaries of religion within these spheres, on the one hand, and of the opinions and deeds of soldiers and statesmen, of traders and educators, of explorers and philanthropists, on the other. Perhaps we cannot better illustrate that which we have to say than by a comparison of Stanley and Livingstone in respect of the very matter which we have just been passing in review. Livingstone went out to Africa a missionary of simplest evangelical convictions. He married the daughter of a Scottish missionary of fervent faith and consecration who had herself been born in Africa. To her the supreme realities were those of the inner life and of the other world. Passionately beloved of Livingstone, she died before the great enlargements of her husband's life had come. One who has stood by her grave at Shupanga must have been thrilled by its contrast with the place of burial of her illustrious husband among the chosen few out of Britain's greatest in Westminster Abbey. He must have little religion who can view that small white cross without realization of what she meant to Livingstone and of that which she and other women of her sort have meant to Africa and to every field of the contacts of Christendom with the non-Christian world. Livingstone was of humble origin and of deficient early education. He was driven to work by grinding poverty. When a lad he acquired but the rudiments of an education and these by the hardest exertion. He attained only slowly the fullness of the powers which nature gave him. In this light his ultimate scientific attainments are amazing. His observations of the geological structure and of the geographical character of Africa, his study of its plants and animals, made before the senseless destruction to which the latter especially have now been subjected, were of extraordinary value. It is remarkable that so few of his lingual and ethnological judgments have been reversed. He had

the temperament which was bound to set itself free from the petty restrictions of a life which has crushed many a man. It could not endure the little mission-station frictions. In the end he was recognized as too big a man for the restraints laid upon him from the home land. Yet he always loved the life of a missionary and devoted his whole life to its larger purposes. He was of the stuff of which great adventurers, explorers and discoverers are made. Sir Roderick Murchison, on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society, urged him to leave the service of the London Missionary Society and devote himself exclusively to scientific work. Livingstone's reply is famous. He esteemed all other achievement as but subordinate to the practical advance of the cause of humanity. In the last analysis for him the advancement of humanity remained always a problem of the moral life of individuals. The means of that advancement lay in an appeal to the will and affections of individual men. The force of it was in the sense of duty. Livingstone had the instincts of a great civilizer. He was in fullest sympathy with the benefits, many and great, while he seems also to have had extraordinary foresight of the evils, which would follow upon the white man's protectorates in the heart of Africa. He had foresight of those evils exactly because of the moral faith of which we speak. He was never blinded by mere theory. He knew that the protectorates must be sources of evil unless they were administered by better men than were likely always to be found upon their staff. He dreaded the ruthlessness of the vicious among these magnates, remote from surveillance and vested with a sovereign power for which nothing in their standing at home or their past experience gave them any fitness. He dreaded their cruelty to the natives who were to him like children. He dreaded their rivalries with one another and all that admixture of the lofty and the low in human nature which such situations never escape. To the last he would surely have said of many of the methods which were thus embarked upon that they did not represent his way. To the last he remained the apostle of a gospel for the soul, the advocate of a personal approach to the question of civilization, of a moral renovation of the individual. He was not per-

turbed by the fact that he could teach so few, or by the fact that he worked in the midst of a race so low in the scale that some doubted whether its representatives had any inner life to which he might make appeal. He knew better. To him these children of the jungle had opened their secret. Years after that morning when he was found dead, kneeling beside his bed in the hut at Bangweolo, he was still Father David to Tippoo Tib, who when driven from his slave raiding at Tanganyika and needing to recall any virtue that he had ever shown, pleaded that he had protected Livingstone. He remained Father David to the ferocious Arab slave dealers across the channel from Zanzibar, who knew that at every point in their nefarious business he opposed them and was ready to deliver them a man's battle in which they could expect no quarter. He was still Father David to the blacks who bore his wasted body on their shoulders for a year, that they might bring it to the coast.

Stanley presents at many points strong contrasts to Livingstone. Yet the two had also many points in common. Stanley too was of humble origin and of deficient early education. In his youth he was neglected. He was an adventurer in the good sense of the word, a newspaper man who developed some of the qualities of a good soldier and had certain of the traits of the diplomatist. He appreciated the significance of the outward forces of civilization. Indeed by everything in his career he was inclined to assign to these paramount importance. Tried by many disappointments, rendered adaptable by various experiences, he was slow in finding his life work. He had kept himself pure and of a high mind. By the time he came to his task in Africa he was a man of the world in a sense in which Livingstone never became a man of the world. Never irreligious, Stanley yet brought to the meeting with Livingstone but slight sympathy with that which he had thus far known of Livingstone's character and aims as a missionary or with missionary characters and aims in general. There was nothing in the commission received from the *New York Herald* to find Livingstone which went beyond the wish to deal with facts which interested the world, to show enterprise comparable with the enterprise which Livingstone as explorer and

adventurer had shown. Stanley has written of the profound impression which Livingstone's spirit made upon him and of the transformation which his intercourse with Livingstone wrought in his own spirit. Yet even while under the spell of Livingstone's devotion Stanley was impelled to say, in just reckoning with his own powers, and as well with the needs of Africa as he conceived these needs, that his way would not have been Livingstone's way. He repeats the observation again and again as if it were the thought uppermost in his mind whenever he reminded himself of Livingstone, and despite the reverence which he had no wish to withhold. He repeats the observation at the time of Livingstone's death when he himself was meantime far more advanced in the enthusiasms and activities of his career. His way was to the end that of a conqueror, of an organizer, a road-maker, a civilizer, a preparer of the way of empire. He believed in taking the good with the bad in the kind of empire for which, as he hoped, he was preparing the way. He was not a business man but he believed in trade as indispensable to the development of the magnificent continent which he had traversed. For himself, he scorned to run the risk of personal entanglements in that trade. He felt this long after he had capital to make investments in Africa to his advantage. His real interest was in the opening up of Africa, in the amelioration of the lot of the Africans. All other interests came to be subordinated to the humane motive, and we repeat that he was far from being without understanding of or sympathy with the religious motive.

Livingstone was above all things else a man of religion. With all the high qualities which he possessed everything was subordinated to the missionary in him. He was absolutely true to himself when he decided to remain a missionary. His approach to life was from the inner side. He had thus believed for himself. He thus believed for his beloved Scotland and no less for the lowest of his Africans. He thus believed with an intensity which at times swayed all his other beliefs. Yet he was far from being without appreciation of the things for which Stanley stood. They were the things for which many other brave and resourceful men had stood, with some of whom he might have found it

harder to establish personal sympathy than with Stanley. In a measure he himself stood for those same things before Stanley was heard of. Was not he too resourceful, ingenious, a dreamer of great dreams of civilization and enlightenment, a born leader of men, a man who understood himself and forced his way, a man who was deceived by few and revered or, if need be, feared by all? He also was the opener of a continent to Europe, eager for the amelioration of every side of the life of Africa. Yet it is quite certain that as he read Stanley's articles in the *Herald*, if he read them, he would have gone within himself and said, without a shade of derogation, that his was not Stanley's way. They were both true men. Each had a way of his own. Each knew that there are other men and other ways.

Now we have only to heighten this contrast to see how easily the representatives of these two approaches to our problem have misunderstood one another in time past and still misunderstand. Most hopeless of all are those who stay at home and have no real understanding of either side of the problem. You have only to think of missionaries, narrow-minded, absorbed in one aim, zealots for one institution, the church, and indifferent to all other matters. It is but fair to say that, in the attitude of the modern world toward missions and still more in the exigencies of the mission field itself, frank representatives of this type are now rare. They grow rarer. They exist mainly in the minds of those who have remained at home and never seen missions. Or again, they exist in the minds of those who have travelled everywhere and still have never seen missions. In so far as they exist, it is not difficult to see how the real man of the world, often a very good sort, may well ask to what end does all this missionary endeavour serve. Equally, it must be remembered that the foreigner in the world of which we speak is frequently not of a very good sort. At the extreme in this direction are men who followed the opening of trades in rubber or ivory, in liquor or opium, and gave free rein to their own cruelty and lusts when removed from the check of public sentiment. They debauch in unscrupulousness a helpless people for their gain. Those who give Americans a bad name in Shanghai are frequently men and women

who could no longer stay in San Francisco or even in Manila. Then there is the far larger number of those who do evil because it is easy and still others who at all events do very little good. One can understand how a representative of the inner life and the spiritual motive, especially if he were a zealot, might hold up his hands and say: "What have these to contribute to the solution of the problem which we face?" The one side sees only bigotry and the effort to force dogma and ritual upon alien peoples, who verily have, of the unrealities of religion and of the superstitions which belong to these, already more than enough. The other sees the spectacle of a civilization so-called, which is fain to deny all relation to religion or even morals. Of this civilization we have more than enough in our own lands. He cannot view with complacency the taking over of this civilization by those whom he is trying to save, especially if they are to take over only its worst elements.

It is known that Stanley was profoundly disappointed that his own government could not assume the protectorate of the Congo Free State as he had planned it. He loyally esteemed that the assumption of that responsibility on the part of Great Britain would have been a guarantee of the fulfilment of the hopes he cherished on behalf of the peoples whose advancement he sought. He felt sure that that responsibility would mean an influx of capital upon which the development of industries must depend. He turned, not without reluctance, as his diary shows, to Belgium. He rebuked himself for his hesitation and mistrust after he had conversed with the King of Belgium and marked the king's interest in the scheme. We have no railing accusation to bring in this place against the Belgians. The king's twofold relation as investor on a huge scale and yet also as sovereign, responsible for civil administration, was always unwise. It became grossly reprehensible. It was as fatal as were the investments of the clique of Russian grand dukes in the Yalu timber concessions, the mismanagement of which under Alexeff brought on, at the last moment, the Russian war with Japan. Belgian officers took worthy part with Germans and English in the war on the slave trade. Things

began well. Yet Stanley's last journey revealed to him the difficulties of an administration whose personnel was made up largely of favourites and incompetents and which proceeded upon a hasty and selfish plan which the government and company at Brussels had apparently decided to adopt. Stanley did not live to see the Leopoldine debauch and reign of terror nor to hear the testimony as to the catastrophe. That testimony was at first discredited. It was then diligently hushed up and garbled. Finally in open court were established crimes which made all Christendom ashamed and all decent men enraged. Atrocities had been committed upon a hapless people which scarcely had their parallel in the dealings of savages one with another. We are interested only in showing that the root of the difficulties and monstrous evils of the régime which the disreputable royal promoter had inaugurated and long brutally defended, lay in lack of character. Unfortunately, there is no racial monopoly of a lack of character. The revelations which have been made concerning British dealings in Putomayo, German dealings with the Herreros, and practically the whole history of the dealings of the United States with the Red Indians prove that. There was lack even of intelligence on the part of those who administered the Congo affairs. There was lack of appreciation that the natives were to be treated as persons and not simply as brute instruments of gain. Stanley had character. He was right in saying that in the large the protectorates under the flag of his own nation had shown character. He had hoped that the Belgians too would show character. No doubt there were many in Belgium who deplored the issue and felt the degradation in which in a measure their whole people was involved, and approved the course and character of their degenerate monarch as little upon this point as upon certain others. Stanley's point of view however was lost sight of or, more accurately, it had never been shared by those upon whom the crisis in the Belgian Congo came. For a time the lot of the Congo negroes, as they bore rubber down to the sea at the west for their taskmasters, was not better than it had been when they bore ivory over the divide and down to Zanzibar in the Arab slave gangs under the

régime to which Stanley and others had fought to put an end.

It is not said that a company of mere zealots of faith, of mere enthusiasts for religious propaganda could themselves have opened up the country. At all events they could have opened it only very slowly. It is not said that single-handed they could ever have got rid of the slave trade. That was necessarily a matter of war. It is not said that, when the slave raiding power had been broken, there was any obvious way of preventing its recovery, or any way of putting an end to anarchy in the devastated territories, except the protectorates. This was a question for governments. It is not said that amateurs with devout leanings would have made good governors, or that there is any substitute for the qualities which a soldier or again a merchant and trader, an investor and promoter of ability and character shows. States with even a tinge of the ecclesiastical in their character have generally been the worst conceivable states. By accident missionaries have sometimes shown themselves good soldiers, like Gamewell at Peking. One of Livingstone's colleagues withdrew from the service of the London Missionary Society because he felt that in the struggle with the slave raiders the time had come for fighting. He agreed with his board that on the whole it was not wise that missionaries should fight. An occasional missionary has been a good business man and administrator. So frequently however has the opposite been true that mission boards often forbid their representatives to have to do with unnecessary business transactions. This is no argument for an indiscriminate exchange of rôles. It is the very point of our contention that the work to be done transcended the powers of the men of either of our types without the aid of men of the other type. We are citing this unhappy episode in the Congo, for which Stanley and for that matter the Belgian people were so little to blame, to show that Stanley's own solution was impossible without elements in the character both of foreigners and natives, which elements in character Livingstone would have said that it was his whole aim in life by the propaganda of the gospel to create.

We have dwelt thus far upon the contacts of West and

East, considering results in matters of medicine and hygiene, in industries and administration, in ideals of government and in certain closely related questions like that of slavery and the slave trade. In a general way we have sought to place first in order in the discussion those phases in which the value of the results of the intervention of one nation in the life of another is least open to question. It is obvious that the order of topics must in some cases be doubtful, but at least the principle of arrangement which we have attempted is clear. From many different points of view we have touched upon the question of trade, because it is one of the largest factors with which we have to do. The sinister experience in the Congo and minor experiences of the same sort in every land suggest a point which for our discussion is most important. It is the point of the connection of trade and government. The Congo experience is a belated example of a theory of the relation of trade and government which was once generally accepted and which seems to have been in general the German theory of that relation. It appears sometimes to be the Japanese theory. At one time the intimate relation of trade and government was accepted as normal. Most men are inclined now to view it as a vicious confusion of ideas and one largely fraught with evil consequences. It is one of the great achievements of the nineteenth century that the true principle has been more and more brought to light.

In the early stages of contact between East and West questions of trade and government were hopelessly confused. It is easy now to see that the confusion was to the detriment of both government and trade. The classic example is the government of India under the British East India Company. It is therefore one of the highest titles to honour of British rule in India that, without giving up its sovereignty in India, Great Britain has, in the generation before the Mutiny and in the two generations which have followed it, completely purged itself of this reproach. Whether we have to look for an indefinite continuance of British rule in India is a question upon which there has been division of opinion even in Great Britain itself. The participation of Indians in their own government has now assumed such proportions

that it lays near the thought that they might some day take over the government entirely. On the other hand, to sober minds among the Indians themselves, the same cause makes it less necessary that the government should be taken over by the Indians, until this can be done in the best manner and with assurance of the best results. It is safe to say that had the relations of trade and government in India continued as they were before 1829 the continuance of British rule in India to the present day would have been almost inconceivable. Conversely, with the reforms in those relations which have gradually taken place, the real state of the case to-day is that not merely the trade of the British but equally that of foreigners of every nationality and that of the Indians themselves has an interest in nothing so much as in the maintenance of an essentially just government. So just and impartial, so intelligent and flexible is the government which the Indians already enjoy that they will be slow to change it until they are well assured that the change will be for the better. There are superficial indications of unrest and occasional outbreaks of the spirit of sedition. It is more than suspected that seditions are sometimes fomented by Europeans. It is, however, firmly believed that an overwhelming majority of the influential in India to-day believe that no change involving the severance of relations with England would be for the best. It has been for years firmly believed not merely that the Indians would resist the invasion of British India by another power. There has been confidence that they would stand by the side of the British in serious warfare which had to be carried on in other lands. That confidence has now been proved well grounded. The loyalty of India to Great Britain in the war is a most notable fact, and one of which Great Britain may well be proud. The facts of which we spoke above are not those which appeal to agitators and abstractionists. They are facts which before the war were very generally misunderstood upon the Continent. They are the facts, however, which make for the stability of British rule in India probably for a long time to come.

It cannot be said that England was driven to the change of its course in India by the Mutiny. The Mutiny, costly

and painful as the experience was, never really imperilled British rule in India. Furthermore Great Britain was already long before the Mutiny committed to the course which we are endeavouring to describe. The abolition of the Company's charter and the taking over of the sovereignty directly by the state was a very natural ending of the period of the Sepoy Rebellion. In its inner logic however it was the conclusion of a process which had been going on for more than a generation before that rebellion. In a way the uprising was so belated as to be illogical. It was the result of ancient grudges and of more or less accidental causes. It fell upon a time when much that was being asked for by the sober-minded among Indian patriots was being granted in any case. But for the poise and balance of temper which the British showed the effect of the rebellion might easily have been to revive ancient severities and to postpone benefits which the government had already been prepared to grant. Such was notoriously the result of the various outbreaks in Russia which ended in the unfortunate assassination of the Czar Alexander II in 1881. The great changes in India to which we allude were due to the changed mind of the British people themselves, to their own apprehension of a state of things which for seventy years had been growing more and more obvious. The investing of a commercial company with certain of the practical powers of a state was dangerous policy and one likely to involve the British nation in serious complications. So long as that commercial company had actual military powers or, to put it the other way about, so long as the government was prepared to favour and protect, even to the point of the use of arms, specific financial interests and to maintain certain monopolies, so long subject peoples were sure to be treated with harshness and the honour of the state was bound to be involved in business transactions which had no legitimate political significance but might easily have disastrous moral consequences.

Three great benefits Great Britain has voluntarily conferred upon India during the nineteenth century. She has steadily increased the share of the Indians in the administration of their own government. To-day only the smallest

number of the highest places are not open to Indians. She has steadily pursued the policy of the education of India by a great state system of education. This has been done in spite of the fact that education has certainly made the country more difficult to govern. The third change however is of even greater importance than the other two. It is the change in pursuance of which the empire has come more and more to cease to regard itself as the guardian of special interests of British trade or even the patron exclusively of British capital invested in India. The empire has fully realized the value of such investments for India. It could not be oblivious to the value of such investments for England. Nevertheless it has realized that which every other good government has gradually been taught to realize, that which even the United States must some day learn, that the guardianship of commercial interests, except in the sense of the maintenance of even-handed justice for all parties concerned, is vicious policy. It is not possible that the course described should not end in the prostitution of government, in the artificial stimulation of some interests and the unjust neglect of others, in the hallucination that prosperity can be created by legislation. The adoption of the policy of free trade for Great Britain was of untold beneficial effect upon the administration of British India. In the same sense one could but rejoice in an early pronouncement by the President of the United States that he would be moved to intervene in the affairs of Mexico for the protection of commercial interests neither of the citizens of the United States nor of any other state. Those who invested capital in Mexico did so at their own risk. They had no right to ask that their own government should guarantee the fulfilment of their hopes. Now as we were saying, it redounds to the credit of the British administration in India that although it was on its own territory or, at least, on ground which the conquests of a previous century had made its own, and although the tradition was all to the contrary, and despite the fact that the government was not under constraint, it has steadily laboured for fifty years for the clarifying of conditions in this regard. No interests whatever in India are at present protected in special way. The

Company ceased to exist in 1858. It had ceased to exert any of the functions of government a generation before that. No favours were granted. India has long been a free field for the industries of every nationality, just as England itself has been a free field for industries of every nationality. No trade of foreigners has been tolerated which militated against the interests of the Indian citizens of the Empire. The government guarantees nothing except stability and even handed justice to all and puts the execution of that guarantee in the hands of Indian judges.

Those sinister influences which have long made themselves felt in China, commercial concessions, permits for mining and transportation, the grant of extra-territorial rights, stand in glaring contrast with that which we have just been saying concerning India. These things have played a great part in the history of China in the last two generations. They play an evil part in that country at the present moment. There is the more need that we should call attention to them and recur to the honourable change which Great Britain has forced herself to make in India. It turns out that the nominal freedom of China from the dominion of western powers exposes it to some evils and acts of violence on the part of those powers in the interests of trade, to which China would not be exposed were she under the responsible dominion at all events of one and possibly of others of those powers. Opium grown in India was forced upon China by the British government in incredible quantities and for decades after the effects of its consumption by the Chinese were so glaringly obvious that a similar use of it would never have been permitted by that same government on the part of its own subjects in India. The pressure of many powers upon her borders has thus been more injurious to China than would have been the far greater pretensions of one western power within her boundaries. For China is thus made the victim of the rivalries of the powers among themselves. These conditions are more unfortunate than ever at the present moment since the Chinese government is itself in process of radical transformation. It is in dire need of money. It is ready to grant in its need that which presently it is bound sorely to repent of having granted.

As one walks the Bund in Shanghai it is brought home to him with an intensity which his reading never conveyed that for miles on either side of the river, exactly in the centre of this emporium of the East, there is not a foot of ground which belongs to Chinese men. Flags of every greater nation on the earth fly over it, but no flag of China. In the pretty park which occasionally reaches to the water's edge no Chinese man, woman or child may set foot save indeed the nurse of some foreigners' children. The area is that of an extra-territorial concession, governed by a joint commission of the western residents. The jurisdiction of their own consuls over foreigners is absolute. Even for cases to which one party is Chinese the jurisdiction is that of a mixed court. Moreover, far outside this area, all over China, Chinese citizens, converts of the Christian missions, have been in the past, under treaty proviso, able to appeal in certain cases to foreign consuls and so to escape jurisdiction of their own courts. It is true that the Chinese have resorted to torture to extract evidence. It is true that punishments were sometimes of inconceivable cruelty and processes of law touching property were such that no foreign trade could have been built up had the merchants been obliged to submit to those processes. It is true that Shanghai is very largely what Europeans have made it. It is true that the treaty concessions seem far more outrageous to-day than when they were granted. They seem outrageous exactly in the light of that position in the world which the Chinese man to-day wishes his country to take. Those wishes are largely the consequences of the presence of the foreigner and his trade. Yet when all is said, does anyone imagine that these concessions would have been granted by the Chinese even as they were at the end of the decade of the thirties, except under the muzzle of the guns? Can anyone wonder that the present situation is to the Chinese infuriating? We know how the Japanese felt about the last remnants of extra-territorial rights which had once been granted under constraint and which came to hang about them like the badge of an ancient disgrace. Full recognition was accorded Japan no longer ago than in the year 1899. One recalls the French war for Tonking and the bombardment of Foo

Chow in 1884. We are reminded of the German seizure of Kiaio Chow and of the English appropriation of Wei Hai Wai. Is it any wonder if, after the murder of the Baron von Ketteler, the German plenipotentiary, in the streets of Peking in June 1900, men posed themselves this pretty sum in ratio: If it cost one of the finest harbours on the coast of China to murder two Jesuit missionaries, how much would it cost to assassinate an ambassador? Because of the Chinese attempt to assassinate the ambassadors of all the powers at once the problem did not work out in this striking simplicity. One looks at Hong Kong and realizes how absolutely it controls the commerce of the greatest of Chinese commercial cities. To be sure, Hong Kong was not that which it now is when the British took possession. It was a barren peak with a few fishermen's villages in the marsh at its base. The British made Hong Kong. They have made it however in large part out of trade with the Chinese people. How much have the British made of Aden which also they have long owned and fortified? Is it any wonder that the Chinese man of to-day is gradually coming to think of Hong Kong and its relation to Canton somewhat as England would think of Southampton and the Roads if the Germans had fortified the Isle of Wight or as the Germans would think if the British still held Heligoland? In all honesty, one must say that the wonder is not that the Chinese now and then in the old days got out of hand and murdered a missionary or an engineer or a camphor-speculator here and there. One must remember how weak the central government of China has long been, especially in the interior and in the South. One must remember how difficult it has been for the Chinese government to put down piracy on the West River, a piracy whose aim was more often the robbery of Chinese citizens than of foreigners. The wonder is not that the Chinese have occasionally vented their passions in violence and atrocity. The wonder is that they have been half so docile and inoffensive as they have. The wonder is that the Chinese are half so amenable as they are to western influences and that they seek our help and friendship half so much as they do.

As we were saying, even British policy has been as regards

China in such marked contrast with that which we have observed in India in the nineteenth century, that one is forced to realize how great has been the effect upon the British mind of the undivided and obvious responsibility to which in India Great Britain held herself, and how sad are the consequences when a nation has great power and little responsibility. It has been the fate of China, in this transition period of its opening to the western world and of the early stages of its assimilation to western principles, that it has been neither like Japan without a foreign domination in its midst, nor yet like India, under a foreign domination which gradually learned to do its duty and understand its privilege. China has been in neither the one of these positions nor the other. It has been the prey of all the powers and the object of the protection of none. Exactly in China therefore occur the worst examples of diplomatic unscrupulousness and of the abuse of military and naval force for the political or commercial advantage of European states. The very worst of these examples as above intimated is that of the opium traffic and this traffic is to be laid almost exclusively to the charge of Great Britain. This traffic has inflicted an almost incalculable injury upon China. It is the deepest stain upon the character of Great Britain. It is a disgrace to the real nature of which the debates in parliament have shown, until very recent times, an astonishing obtuseness. The last reluctant legislative steps which make an end of the British introduction of opium into China have been taken within a few years.

It is easy to say that if the other nations had had opium to sell they would have done as the British did. This may be only too true, but it is a very sorry answer. The virtue of the Americans in the Caleb Cushing treaty is spoken of as hypocritical. The Americans raised no opium. They were guilty of a trade in rum on the coast of Africa and among the islands of the South Seas which, if not equally injurious, was equally culpable. They are now guilty of similar trade. Not much is gained in mutual recrimination. Furthermore it must be said that this sale of liquor, unscrupulous as it was, was never fostered by direct acts of government both in war and peace as was the trade in

opium with China. Precisely the point of censure is that of the relation of government to the trade. Other governments have failed to prevent their citizens from doing deeds which they did as individuals, defying decency in doing them. Great Britain made war upon China for attempting to execute on its own territory its own perfectly rightful legislation by which it had made opium contraband. To be sure, the opium trade was not the only trade involved in the so-called Opium Wars. Opium was however by far the largest item of trade and the one over which the most serious friction arose. The opening of China to western trade in general was certainly good for the West and may ultimately prove to have been good even for China. It requires some cynicism however to set forth the Opium Wars as a missionary endeavour on behalf of the Chinese. The opium question was a legacy from the flourishing period of the British East India Company and of the protection of its interests by government to which we have above alluded. The Company raised opium in India and found by far the largest demand for its product in China. It was so anxious to open China for trade of every sort that it allowed itself to be led into making upon a helpless people a war which beyond question was provoked in overwhelming measure by the vicissitudes of this particular trade. It has been alleged that if no one had brought opium to the Chinese they would have raised it for themselves. This answer is quite as sorry as the previous one, and has not the merit of containing any appreciable element of truth. The Chinese have grown opium since its introduction by the foreigner to avoid the high price exacted by the foreigner, or rather to reap the profit for themselves. They have done this however in defiance of their own government, which has made spasmodic and partially successful efforts to restrain its own citizens in the prosecution of a business ruinous to large numbers of its people. The government was however far too weak to regulate that part of the same business which was under the protection of foreign powers. It discovered that that trifling measure of success which it had in restraining its own citizens resulted in no diminution of the evil, but merely in the enlargement of the profit of the

foreigner in the continuance of that evil. Even at the present moment, the withdrawal of British Indian opium from Chinese markets is conditioned upon China's success in putting an end to the production and sale of opium among themselves. This is the only action which the British parliament has, even to this day, felt itself constrained to take. Yet this is nothing but the clinging to the last to an advantage granted in a treaty which was obtained by sheer force of arms.

It is said that there is no ancient word in Chinese for opium. There is no word in the vernacular but only an imitation of a foreign word. There is no evidence that the consumption of opium, save in the smallest way, existed in China until the foreigner, with his commercial and naval superiority found it to his advantage that that consumption should be increased. The prodigious increase of the trade in the period from 1810 to 1850 shows the diligence with which this market was cultivated. Already before 1830 the interest of British subjects in opium, prepared for and introduced into China was such that it was certain that this interest would dominate the whole international relation. Then, as if this situation was not bad enough, the British government supervened upon it with force. The general question concerning trade with China was then fought out. Ports were forcibly opened to all trades. The world has however not been wrong in the nickname which it stamped upon these disagreeable episodes. That in the issue the Chinese should have been obliged, besides all other injuries, to pay a high indemnity for the destruction of opium acknowledgedly contraband and for the expense of a war which was forced upon her and in which she met an inevitable defeat, is an affair so shameless that at this distance its effrontery almost touches our sense of humour. The Chinese however, in light of that which their country has suffered because of opium, may be pardoned for not seeing the humorous side of it. In simple truth, it was a crime of almost unrivalled blackness and of most disastrous consequences. Men whom otherwise the world has held in honour were involved in it. They did not perceive the enormity of that which they did. This is only another evidence how

the moral climate of the world changes. The service of Sir Robert Hart and the Chinese Maritime Customs, which has conferred incalculable benefits of every sort upon China for the last half century, came into being because of complications in trade relations between China and the West. For these complications the embitterment touching the opium question was in some degree responsible. This shows only how good may come out of an evil which one must nevertheless continue to describe as practically an unmitigated evil.

After all has been said, we must concede that there has been no greater influence in the opening up of the Orient than the influence of trade. There have been no better men than some of the great traders, heads of the foreign banks and hongs, and these of every nationality. They have not merely brought capital to bear in a large way in the development of these countries. They have given the example of a certain type of mind and character, that of the great merchant, the leader in commerce and industry. Without this type the West would not be what it is. Perhaps still less would the East have attained the degree of prosperity and promise in the large relations of the world to which it has already come. We have no disposition to ignore the dark side of the picture. We need not deny the low sense of honour which has sometimes obtained and the sinister aspect which some, especially of the smaller factors in trade, have worn. Trade however shows these qualities and wears those aspects also here at home. It is preposterous to deny the great influences which have been on the whole salutary. One who has known a treaty port in China, who has seen the army of men and women who, for all sorts of purposes, betake themselves to these places of contact with the opening Orient, knows what a motley company it is. Yet no one can read papers like the Shanghai *Daily News* or the Japan *Mail*, without realizing what a world this foreign world within the eastern world is, how well it manages its affairs and how many worthy affairs it has to manage. Merchants, bankers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, scholars, clergymen, of the best the world has to show, are there. They are the more surely to be counted upon for every

virtue and high-mindedness, because in the earlier days, at least, they and they alone made the laws of their own high mind. At the opposite end of the scale indeed are men and women who could no longer stay in their own country, not even in the worst places in those countries. The refuse and offscouring of the world enjoys for a brief space a freedom which it can hardly find elsewhere, to exert its evil influence and ply its nefarious trades. Men of the highest ideals are here along with men of no ideals and not even the conventions which sometimes take the place of ideals. It is not too much to say that the Orient sees something of the worst possible aspect of our civilization. It argues that if this is Christianity, then the less it has of Christianity the better it will be. They fortunately are in a position to know that these things are not the product of Christianity. They have seen the other side as well. We ourselves, when we reflect upon the state of things at the very heart of Christendom and admit how little influence the real spirit of Christianity has yet had upon society as a whole, are fain to wish at moments that our fathers had not entered so lightly upon a course which, beyond any forecast which they could have had, has issued in this process of world assimilation. The process is full of difficulties. The pathway is beset with snares. Even the well intentioned find it hard to see the way. They find it hard not to bring confusion and misery upon others and disgrace upon the cause with which they are identified. On the other hand, we have assuredly no cause to deny that much has been accomplished, even when it seems small in comparison with that which yet remains to do. The chapter which we have just written is a record or rather, it is a very small part of the record of a great achievement. It is a record taken only from certain outward aspects of that achievement. That achievement is the effect of certain other causes also, to which we have barely alluded, and to which it is now high time we turned. The movement has gone far beyond the forecast of any who participated in it. We have in the West the sense of awakening to find that the nations to which we belong have been and must still be actors in a drama far more wonderful than we realized. The war has

waked us to the realization that the East too, the nations which we have been patronizing with our civilization and to which we have been interpreting our gospel, will be actors in that drama. Now that we do begin to realize it, we have our days of being bitterly depressed. We have abundant cause for shame and humiliation at follies and wickedness in which most of us had indeed no personal share but of which we cannot altogether wash our hands. If in the mystery of the evolution of humanity a certain group of races has been granted a remarkable precedence, that precedence is one which they have also right lustily abused. It is one which has misled them indeed, but it has also led. There is only one way in which we can atone for the evil we have done and finish the work which we have more or less unconsciously begun. That way is to go on giving of our greatest and our best, knowing now that the other races also have their contribution to make to the common end. We eagerly expect to receive immeasurable benefits in exchange for any we bestow. This is the attitude of mature men among their fellows. No less is it the attitude of mature nations. Once for all, it would seem that the barriers which have separated men from time immemorial are now broken down. The good which any race has achieved in any department of life is for all men. The evils which beset any men are to be overcome by the joint endeavour of all. The races which have for manifold reasons thus far lagged behind have now really begun to move along the road which the most advanced have travelled. After all, these latter also have been travelling this road not yet for an indefinitely long period, and their achievements should have been much greater than they are.

We say lagged behind. Yet have the eastern nations lagged behind us so markedly in all aspects of life, or is it mainly in outward things that we can make such comparison? When we turn to other factors in life than those outward ones with which in the main we have thus far dealt we may find quite a different state of things. Life is all of one piece. There is something elevating in the sense that all races are now setting out together upon the later stages of a journey toward the perfecting of the life of mankind, of which journey

they traversed the earlier stages either in actual isolation or at least only in defined groups. The deposit of the period of isolation was the individuality, the complex of characteristic traits, of each particular race. It is on the basis of this and by the force of this, that each race has its own contribution to make to the work which is still before us. It would be the defeat of the process so far as a particular race is concerned, and furthermore it would be the impoverishment of the process as a whole, if the characteristics of any one race were to be submerged and lost in the assimilation which is going on. The evolution of humanity, whether in its division into races or in the marvellous community of life toward which mankind seems now irresistibly impelled, presents indeed no such plain and simple path as men of one idea think. It also presents in its delays and cross purposes, in its partial defeats and abortive tendencies, no such hopeless enigma as we, in the moment of the dashing of some particular enthusiasm, often feel. Alike the sources and the remedies and our ills lie deeper than any mere suggested changes of the outward life and lot of men. The areas of the life of mankind of which we have been speaking, those namely of the physical well-being and of the economic and civil and social existence, are but the areas or, more accurately speaking, they are some only of the areas, of the expression of the inner life and personality. The cultivation of the inner life, whether on its intellectual or again on its spiritual side, has claimed at times an exaggerated importance. The religious view especially has at times worked to retard all other aspects of civilization. Our errors lie in the opposite direction. Our age is fain to say that it will have none of either education or religion unless these can be made practical. The cultivating of the inner life seems sometimes a lost art. This makes it easier for some in our day to go to the opposite extreme. An abstract view of the value of education has worked at times and in some places to the same hindering effect. This was true of official education under the old régime in China. It was true also of the education of the schoolmen of the Middle Age in Europe. In both cases the zeal for education worked to retard the progress of other aspects of civilization. Yet when has there ever been an age of such enthusiasm for

education as has been the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth? To say that it has been an enthusiasm for those aspects of education only which could be turned to material advantage would be unjust. The enthusiasm for education has moreover manifested itself in the relations of West and East at least as markedly as has any other. In the East it has awakened notable response. It has roused enthusiasm for education where this did not exist. It has transformed the methods and altered the area of education where that enthusiasm did exist. As for the enthusiasm for religion, is not this one major aspect of the movement with which we are concerned? Have not the extent and power of this enthusiasm been evidenced in hitherto unexampled ways? With all of the depression which we may feel as to the state of religion among ourselves, with all that we allege as to the preoccupation of men's minds with material things, we must not forget this fact. The nineteenth century has been also a century of religious enthusiasms of a depth and effectiveness truly remarkable. This enthusiasm has shown itself both in the propaganda of religion here at home and in religious missions to the East and Africa. The intensity of the life of the age has manifested itself in both directions at once, in the spheres of the cultivation both of the outward and of the inner life of men. The cultivation of the inner life has indeed won a different aspect from that which prevailed in former years. Yet the evidences of great movements of religious and again of intellectual enthusiasm in the nineteenth century are on every hand. It is time therefore that we turn to these two areas, those of the cultivation of the life intellectual and of the life religious. It is time that we ask ourselves concerning the effects of the contacts of East and West in these regards as well.

LECTURE V

EDUCATION : AFRICA AND AMERICA, CHINA AND JAPAN

The nineteenth century made great outward achievements. Equally the appeal to the inner life was one of its characteristic traits. Of that appeal in its aspects of religion we shall later speak. For the moment we are concerned with education. The age of rationalism had prepared the way for this new educational movement. In education as in religion the rationalists had assailed the principle of authority. There had been a scholasticism in education as truly as in religion. The Renaissance and the Reformation had broken with authority but only at certain points and in limited degree. In the eighteenth century men's minds began again to move freely. They pushed to the limit principles at the basis of the intellectual and moral and religious life which in the sixteenth century they had only begun to apply. The new humanism caused men to perceive how much larger is the area and how much more manifold are the principles of education than even the rationalists had supposed. A book like Rousseau's "Émile" was epoch-making in this regard. Goethe's "Dichtung und Wahrheit" and his "Wilhelm Meister" were a revelation at this point. Not merely was education Goethe's greatest interest. Education meant to him an immeasurably greater thing than it had meant to the masters of his own youth. There were new methods and as well new fields. The later years of the eighteenth century with the first half of the nineteenth century made nature a field to be reckoned with in education in a degree before undreamed. Equally the new humanists and the romanticists urged afresh that the proper study of mankind is man. Historians of education know the end of the eighteenth century in Europe as a period almost as significant for them as was the same period for the history

of Christian faith and life. The era was a revolutionary one in more senses than that of the political convulsions often designated by that name. Outward distresses in some cases, as in France and Italy, checked educational progress. Italy is only now winning the basis of a great educational reform. In other cases, as for example in Germany and most notably in Prussia, the national catastrophe quickened educational enthusiasm. In proof we may cite the careers of Fichte and Hegel and the founding of the University of Berlin. In Great Britain institutions were little disturbed by the throes of the general revolution. This fact was not without its relation to the slowness of British educational reform.

Emphasis upon education has been everywhere one of the striking characteristics of the nineteenth century. A cause which was until the middle of the eighteenth century essentially aristocratic has now become the object of unbounded popular enthusiasm. Deism in England drew its followers almost exclusively from the upper classes. The Encyclopedists in France thought of themselves as responsible for a great intellectual propaganda. They popularized everything. A training which had aimed almost exclusively at the fitting of a chosen few for leadership now aims at the dissemination of all useful knowledge among the masses of mankind. It seeks to impart some form of fitness to the most needy and helpless classes. It aims to qualify literally all men for ever enlarging responsibilities. It would make them critics of their leaders and capable if need be of assuming leadership. It has contributed incalculably to the mobility of society. Funds which princes once gave grudgingly or again, arbitrarily, democratic governments now bestow in a manner which would beggar royalty. It is proposed that something of the wealth and power of nature and of the experience of humanity shall be put at the disposal of the poorest child. That the movement has not escaped its own whims and follies lies in the nature of the case. That it has fulfilled all the hopes concerning it need not be alleged. That this has been one of the most characteristic endeavours of the nineteenth century cannot be denied. Furthermore in some of the countries of which we are speaking government support of education has been

but the smallest part of the support which institutions of learning have received. Private beneficence has often far exceeded public generosity. Living donors vie with one another in patronage of a cause with which as they conceive the interests of posterity are bound up. Legacies fall to colleges and universities as in the Middle Age men left their property to churches and monasteries. In some communities for a rich man to die without testamentary remembrance of the cause of education excites wonder as to whether he had lived in an atmosphere of intelligence almost as, in the Middle Age, if such a man had made no gift to church or convent, it would have been questioned whether he had died in the odour of sanctity. College presidents take their places nowadays at the bedsides of promising decedents as naturally as did priests and heads of orders in the days of yore. Resources which five centuries ago were lavished upon institutions of religion have been for a hundred years poured out upon the instrumentalities of education and research. Judged by an absolute standard the wealth placed at the disposal of teaching throughout the world in the period named must have been far greater than that which in any equal period was ever devoted to the building of churches, the founding of cloisters, the extension of ecclesiastical foundations and the endowment of worship and beneficence. Relatively however to the total present wealth of Europe and America it may be doubted whether this is the case. At the end of the Middle Age the enthusiasm for the endowment of religious institutions visibly declined. Yet even in the era of the Reformation ecclesiastical possessions were still large enough to constitute a great temptation to the secular powers. Funds alienated from the church were often given by the state for the support of colleges. Wolsey is popularly supposed to have endowed Christ Church, Oxford, with funds taken from the monasteries which had been bestowed on him. In France on the eve of the Revolution ecclesiastical properties were still immense. Appreciable part of the money which the Assembly seized it resolved to devote to the maintenance of educational activities which the monasteries had been compelled to lay down.

Nor is merely the matter of money to be considered in this comparison. Men and women have now for two generations given themselves to the career of teaching who would without doubt formerly have found place in the service of the church. The work of a professor has about it something of the glamour which once surrounded the life of an ecclesiastic. Instructors represent an ideal of the time somewhat as priests and monks and nuns did the ideal of a former age. Men have given themselves to the life of learning with consecration. It is but fair to add that some have sought the life for other reasons than those of consecration. The results also have been similar to those occasionally remarked in the ministry in the days when the ministry was the popular career. The priesthood of learning is no more free from foibles than was that of religion. The humble mind is the same everywhere and the evidences of lack of that mind have a marked resemblance in very different fields. The securing of an education has been a real passion on the part of the youth and again of parents on behalf of their children. Education has been assumed to be the key for the opening of practically every door. Once men looked to the church and religion to secure to them an inheritance in the future world. Now they ask schools and universities to aid them to enter upon the inheritance of mankind in this world. Education has been preached as the hope and saving element in a democratic society. The future of civilization has been viewed as bound up with this cause. In a sense this is true. Yet the preaching of salvation by enlightenment is now somewhat less confident in its tone than formerly. It begins to be felt that education is very necessary but that other things are necessary as well. A measure of disillusionment has already come over this confidence of the power of the school as the sole agency of world redemption. Yet it remains that education has won a place in the modern world which it never had before. Evidence of these facts is on every hand. We are reminded of the founding of new universities in Great Britain. There has been enlargement of opportunity for professional and again of technical education which has much more than kept pace with the fostering of ancient seats of learning like Oxford and Cambridge.

Huge sums are expended upon public instruction. Germany presents perhaps an even more striking example. There was an intensity of the ideal and intellectual life in the Fatherland in the first half of the nineteenth century which made the nation the schoolmaster of us all. The reverence which that pure spirit inspired can never be forgotten. The period of the vast expansion of the material interests of Germany and of its commercial prosperity since 1870 has however seen educational changes which are overwhelming to one who knew the country thirty years ago. The direction of education is now much more than formerly determined by its relation to industry and by the hope of its issue in national power and individual wealth.

If these tendencies obtain in the older countries they are even more obvious in newer lands. In the United States and Canada as also in Australia there were no inheritances from monasteries of the Middle Age upon which the new educational movements could enter. There was no tradition of state support which institutions could claim. Governments were themselves as new and as meagrely supported as were the schools and colleges to which the settlers aspired. There are now in the American Union many state universities which receive large sums from the public treasury. They are however of recent origin. They were everywhere preceded by endowed institutions, private corporations founded and sustained by individual gifts. Upon the continent of Europe the situation is reversed. Endowed institutions resting upon private beneficence are the exception, not the rule. In some lands they hardly exist. The pioneers in the making of the great West in the United States did in most cases precisely that which the founders in the New England colonies had done. They set the free school beside the independent church. They established the college under the direction of the religious community. In the making of the West the various denominations founded colleges as part of their home missionary work. These institutions now find their way difficult since the great expansion of the scientific side of education, and especially since they have to meet the competition of the state universities. The great modern funds in aid of general education

refuse assistance except as these colleges separate themselves from their churches. The service which these institutions rendered however in their own time and place in the development of the country can hardly be overestimated. No American doubts the validity of the principle of private responsibility and support. No German would think of giving money to the University of Berlin, whose support would be esteemed concern of the state alone. Just before the war a university was projected in Frankfurt to be founded by private gifts. The initiative had been taken by a German long resident in America. Nor do Englishmen show a sense of responsibility even for Oxford or Cambridge comparable to that shown by Americans for scores of colleges and universities. It is erroneously assumed that their original ecclesiastical endowments suffice, and furthermore, in the modern movement these ancient universities do not command universal sympathy. The sacrifices made for the cause of education in early days, and in some of the frontier states in the American Union nearly down to our own time, were as great as those ever made by the devotees of religion. Indeed they were frequently made by the same men and women who were giving like evidences of their loyalty to the institutions of religion. The movement has not failed to manifest something of the crudeness and waste which no great popular movement ever escapes. Yet in the large it has been truly magnificent achievement. One who does not know the middle West of the United States or portions of Australia has a revelation in store for him as to what the hunger and thirst after an education may mean. Many Europeans suppose that the great passion of these regions, as of America in general, is its passion for wealth. It would be more true to say that its obsession is education. It is an obsession which has aspects which are pathetic and issues which are sometimes ludicrous. At bottom however it is the striving of a whole people for a great ideal. The difficulties over which men and women have had to triumph have but added zest to the strife.

It may fairly be questioned whether this nineteenth century educational movement will not some day be called to account by the sober sense of the world for all that has been lavished

upon it and in light of the unbounded hopes which have been cherished concerning it. Men have asked of the educational movement that which it can by no means perform. They have entertained hopes which cannot be fulfilled. In the so-called ages of faith ecclesiastical institutions had untold treasures lavished upon them. Men indulged expectations concerning them which they could not fulfil. The orders with their monasteries and convents, with their schools and churches, had their day of reckoning in the Renaissance and the Reformation. Men looked upon them with a resentment proportionate to the trust they had before bestowed upon them, which trust they now esteemed had been in part betrayed. In some sense education has been the superstition of our age. Men have expected it also to work miracles. Through it also they have looked forward to the millennium. They are bound to be disappointed. Knowledge is not everything. It is exceedingly valuable as a factor in life. Disillusionment awaits those who look upon it as a panacea for all ills. It may contribute to character. It is no substitute for character. It is not the only nor even is it the greatest of the factors which make for character. The secularization of the whole apparatus of education is the aftermath of a period of more or less just resentment against the church and distrust of religion. In reality it is the means which will restore religion to its place. Education will in the future include more direct cultivation of the moral and spiritual nature of man than it now generally does. Or else, there will be something like a return of sound public feeling to the institutions which make of moral and spiritual cultivation their specific care. In their measure both of these issues may be expected but the last is more important even than the first.

It has been a century thus animated by passion for education which has witnessed the expansion of the West into the East, the assimilation of the East to the West, the establishment of world-wide empires of trade and the achievement of a notable movement of religious propaganda. Education has been therefore one of the principal gifts which rulers and reformers, civilizers and traders, humanitarians and missionaries, have desired to bestow. At least they have

come thus to desire so soon as they awoke to the real nature of their task. Western education has been moreover one of the benefits of international contact which eastern men have generally been eager to receive, even when suspicious as to other alleged benefits of those contacts. Sometimes this readiness has had its ground in the eastern man's belief that this western education had close relation to the power and prosperity of the nations of the West. Such a relation exists. The pursuit of western education merely for the sake of gain has been a trying phase through which the movement has passed. It has been in this sordid stage also that dishonour has been shown to the traditional culture of these lands. This stage is however only a passing one. Presently there comes again in all these lands an enthusiasm for the recovery of their own racial inheritance. Such a revival of interest in Indian literature we witness to-day in India along with the interest in the characteristic elements of European culture. There is a zeal for carrying both to all classes of society such as India never knew before. Such a reawakening of enthusiasm for things which belong to old Japan marks the new schedules of instruction in Japan to-day. Such a resurrection of Confucianism is bound to come in China when the present extreme reaction against the traditional cultivation is once past. We have to remember that among us also in the West the place in education of the sciences of nature, the guiding of education exclusively according to a man's vocation, has been exaggerated. What men have called practical education has commanded and now commands wide sympathy. The older and more abstract instruction has suffered in comparison. Many among us have decried the classics precisely as the Chinese to-day abuse Confucianism. They say that the traditional education bakes no bread, it does not make us rich, it does not enable us to defend ourselves against our enemies. Surely it is not surprising that in the opening of Japan, for example, the passion for western learning was at first directed toward those branches of instruction the mastery of which would contribute to wealth and make for national aggrandizement. Such a feeling meets us in less degree among the Hindus. Its presence in India however seems somehow much more

incongruous. No one can associate with the body of students whom the Chinese government is at present sending to America without realizing that in the large it is the same so-called practical advantage of western education which they seek. It is the vocational courses which they take. It is technical education which they feel that their country primarily needs. Within limits they are right. At the same time we realize how new is such a view of relative values in education to the minds of the Chinese. We reflect how different is such an education from that which colonial administrators and western missionaries at first offered in the lands of the East. Yet that which the foreign governments and missionaries offered was the beginning of the intellectual transformation of China and India of which we speak. The old fashioned education for leadership, as we have called it, was the first in the field in the educational efforts of western men in eastern lands. It was almost the only education which those first missionaries themselves had had or would have understood. Vocational training hardly yet existed in their own home lands. Now however it is this other, the practical training, which is in most places in the East overwhelmingly in evidence. This practical and vocational education may therefore serve as our point of departure in this portion of our discussion. It is this aspect of the subject which furnishes us natural transition from our previous chapter upon trade and government. On the other hand, the more abstract aspects of education will be dealt with later. They in their turn afford us the natural transition to the succeeding chapters in which we shall speak of the various phases of the religious movement.

We think of the tribes in Africa at the present moment or of the negroes in the old slave-holding states of the American Union since the war, and we almost wonder that men could ever have esteemed that any form of training other than the industrial and vocational was appropriate in their case. It seems surprising that neither missionaries nor government ever addressed themselves to this problem in the earliest years of educational endeavour in India. It appears extraordinary that the men to whom the Ottoman Empire owes so much in the way of education did not from the first

feel this to be the supreme need of Turkey. Such a state of mind betrays however our own ignorance. We must recall that it is only of late that we have added industrial education and manual training in the public schools even in the favoured regions of the northern states of the American Union. Vocational training is not the oldest, on the contrary, it is the newest and by no means the most highly developed aspect of education in England and France. We come here upon a curious fact in the development of education in the nineteenth century. The remoter countries and less privilged peoples have had a chance almost to keep pace with the ancient lands of culture in this respect of the evolution of industrial training. Indeed it has sometimes happened that in these out-of-the-way places and among peoples for whom the first steps in western civilization were being taken, precedents have been set and examples given which have made themselves felt elsewhere. We have moments of wondering how we could all have gone on so long with such pride in our schools and colleges, blissfully unconscious that we were not even looking in the direction of one of the most pressing of educational problems. We now seem to ourselves to have begun at the top and built downwards, to have tried to solve the last problem first. This is certainly one of the suggestive phases of the history of education in the nineteenth century. The new view has come not merely with the expansion of the sciences and their application to trade, although this has been one large factor. The new view has come with the more completely democratic ideal of education. The vocational is the education which the masses of men need. In our zeal we run some risk of substituting altogether these new forms of training all men for their work, in place of the old aim of training a chosen few to lead. In reality what we need is to place these two ideals side by side, as of equal worth each in its own sphere. We have need to establish relation between them. We need not extenuate the aristocratic air which is involved in the last assertion. We need not assume that both kinds of education need always be carried on in the same schools.

Much attention is now turned in the direction of Africa. This will certainly be even more true in the next generation.

Victor Hugo said that Africa would be the continent of the twentieth century. Nevertheless most of the problems of the negro in Africa, especially the problem of his education, are in inchoate state. There is as yet little accumulation of experience there. It may not appear altogether paradoxical if we say that some of these problems may best be studied in the Africa which is in America. The education of these same peoples in America has already a considerable history and one which is eminently suggestive. We are disposed to think that to the educational experience of the Southern states in the American Union sufficient weight has never been attached by students of conditions in Africa. It is certain that we have here a mass of evidence concerning the religious and again the social, the economic and civil life of the coloured race in America, which has never been adequately used by those who are trying to understand conditions in Africa. The black man was forcibly introduced into the white man's civilization in America. The white man's civilization has been forcibly introduced into the black man's continent of Africa. The difference in these issues is not great. The so-called Black Belt in the southern part of the American Union with its margins in former Confederate states, presents many of the problems of a foreign land. Yet it is laid at the very door of those states in the Union which have been foremost in sending teachers and preachers into the work of foreign missions throughout the world. Central and Southern Africa at the present moment offer striking resemblances to the Black Belt in America. In Africa the inhabitants are now practically all free. The tribes are mobile and wander in quest of work. Industries of various sorts seek the coloured labourer. The white man with his helpfulness and superior advantages, yet also with his exclusiveness, his prejudices and his vices, is everywhere at the elbow of the negro just as in America. The Africa which is in America, however, presents difficulties which are enormously enhanced by the fact that its denizens are, at least theoretically, citizens upon an equal footing with the whites. Geographically Africa in America is a fragment of the eastern hemisphere and that of the most retarded portion of that hemisphere, moved bodily into

the midst of a fairly progressive portion of that which is in some respects the most progressive nation of the West. Ethnologically the Africa which is in America presents a striking contrast to the experience of the retarded races generally where these have been brought into contact with the dominating Caucasian. Eskimos, Red Indians and South Sea Islanders are dying out. The Africans in America, without any immigration, have been multiplied by three and a half in the fifty years since the emancipation. Finally, in the language of our discussion, the Africa which is in America presents the problem of race assimilation in its acutest form. Actual commingling of blood between the two races probably takes place on a diminished scale since the extinction of slavery. Where such commingling does take place it is the black type which is being eliminated. Furthermore, the unhappy progeny of miscegenation is probably in an even more difficult position socially than it was before the war. It is said to be also in large part infertile. The lot of the Eurasians in India or China may or may not be more unhappy than that of the mulattoes and quadroons in our Southern States. It is however only a small part of the problem which the reconstruction of the civilization of the Orient in response to the impulse of the Occident entails. Our reference was of course not to physical assimilation. It was to the amalgamation of the races in the far larger sense which the whole discussion of this book implies. We mean the assimilation of two races which remain distinct and which yet come to constitute one civil and economic, one intellectual and moral whole, in which each race bears its necessary part. Such an assimilation is apparently the condition of the continuance of any civilization whatsoever in a considerable portion of the American Union. It is no wonder then if one turns to this example and asks its meaning, as he thinks of the Africa which is in Africa and which is now everywhere invaded by the white man.

The antecedents of the problem of the Africa which is in America were the very worst conceivable. The slave trade was monstrous. Unpardonable iniquities perpetrated in the past by strong races against the weak have usually left their

victims to suffer in isolation in their own plundered lands. In this case the perpetrators, in an access of audacity and, as if blinded by the very greatness of their own crime, deliberately brought the consequences of their cupidity home to their own doors. They left slavery a legacy to their own children, a curse to the native land for the freedom of which they were probably ready at any moment to lay down their lives. Englishmen have held slaves, but never in England; Spaniards held slaves, but rarely in Spain; Dutchmen, but never in Holland. Englishmen sent slaves to their colonies but Americans continued the slave-trade long after America had become a free nation. Shipowners and planters alike profited by the enslavement of men for a whole generation after they had engaged in a war of independence whose very declaration had alleged that all men are created equal. The ancient maxim has been verified afresh that the institution of slavery is even more disastrous to masters than to slaves. The social and economic order which rested upon slavery has been annihilated. It almost carried the nation to ruin with it. The moral effects of slavery upon both races still have to be reckoned with. If the American people as a whole have anxious moments wondering how the problem of the negro at the South is ever to be solved, their distress is made only more poignant by the reflection that at all events the problem is one which they brought upon themselves.

With the emancipation and still more with the enfranchisement of the coloured people a new duty was laid upon the conscience of the North. The former slave population at the South must be educated. Many slaves had indeed suffered cruelly, yet a kind of care had been extended by their owners, even if it were only of the kind extended to valuable beasts. The freedman was however thrown upon his own resources which were pitifully meagre, in the midst of a world which was desolated and had moreover many reasons for being hostile to him. He had conferred upon him in a moment a freedom which he did not understand and a franchise for which he was not fit. The emancipation may have been a military necessity. The enfranchisement was a cruel blunder of blind idealism.

It was perceived that only too easily the issue of it all might be disastrous both to the individual and ultimately to the state. We said that the sense of this duty to the blacks was laid upon the conscience of the North. The South was at first too prostrate to have great share in the work. It is only fair to add that the attitude of the mind of the South was at first not favourable to the work. There had been happier days, a generation before the war, when the children of slaves had sometimes been taught to read along with the masters' children by the women of the masters' households. The religious life of the slaves had been cared for through the masters' church and clergymen. The increase of the numbers of slaves, the fear of their rebellion, abolitionist agitation at the North, had changed all that. In the period just before the war the lot of the blacks was infinitely worse than it had been. Education of the negroes was neglected and even forbidden. Their religion was left to the care of an ignorant negro ministry. It easily degenerated into a new form of paganism barely disguised under Jewish and Christian names. Yet it was no great wonder if ruined southerners viewed askance the efforts of hated northerners to take up in the new conditions the intermitted work. There were honourable exceptions. There were those who regretted the last bitter stage before the war and who perceived the new emergency. But of some who went from the North to lay hand to this task at the South we may say that they would not have been more truly foreign missionaries had they been on the Gold Coast or in the valley of the Congo. Some of them no doubt gave the offence of which zealots are frequently guilty. If they had not been zealots they would never have taken up this task.

The type of institution founded was at first that familiar in the North, especially in New England. It was the little college with its traditional classical course. Latin and mathematics and a very little science were offered. History and moral philosophy and "Evidences of Christianity" were taught. We should be deeply unjust did we not pay tribute to the devotion which these efforts manifested, to the self-sacrifice with which they were carried forward and to the large results which they achieved. It was of incomparable

value to fit some chosen youth of the newly emancipated race for leadership of their fellows, to prepare some of them for places at the bar and in the church which would surely be open to them. If there were going to be any schools for the coloured children those schools, particularly the more numerous lower-grade schools, must have coloured teachers. Teachers for these schools the colleges of which we speak have largely furnished and do now furnish. This is their title to praise. Atlanta University is perhaps the shining example. The record which the graduates of these colleges have made both for intelligence and high character is truly an extraordinary one. This was an adequate education or, at all events, this was the right direction of education for these coming leaders. It was the response to the prediction that unless there arose competent leaders among the negroes themselves they would fall a prey to the leadership of the worst elements among the whites. For that prediction the stupid and iniquitous policy of the so-called "Carpet-bag" régime of reconstruction gave abundant ground. In spite of all efforts the prediction was only too often fulfilled. Besides, this was the kind of education which the founders of these colleges had received in their own youth in New England and in the western denominational colleges of their day. This was the kind of education which had made leaders out of them. It would be only the unusual man, the discoverer among them, who would perceive the need of something different and invent the instrumentality for the meeting of that need.

Having said so much in appreciation of this early type of education offered at the South, it will not now be esteemed harsh if we turn to the other side of the case. The kind of education offered, the classics, literature and mathematics, the old basis of abstract training as that had been inherited by the whites, did sometimes have injurious effect upon its recipients. It caused some to esteem themselves educated men when in truth they had received but the barest smattering in subjects which were of little practical use. It did occasionally educate a man away from his fellows and out of the lot in life to which he was nevertheless compelled to return. It did raise questions about social equality in a

world which was not yet ready to discuss even in remotest way such equality. The very fact that it was the type of education which had reigned among the master class laid near at hand the assumption with some of those grown children just up from slavery, that they too were by education to be freed from the necessity of work. In India some recipients of education have been made eager for it by the belief that when they had become proficient in it they will be relieved from the necessity of work. We have to repeat that the praise of the old system was that it did produce some leaders without whom the annals of the negro race in America would be immeasurably poorer than they are. The justification of its continuance is that there will always be that need of leadership. The fact that the popular clamour is at the present moment all for the industrial, makes it the more desirable that some excellent institutions shall maintain the opposite point of view. The misfortune of the old system is that it produced some would-be leaders whom it could never fit with powers commensurate with that task. It can hardly be blamed for not producing artisans in the old days. It did not attempt to produce artisans. Yet agriculturists and artisans the vast mass of the people, those who were to be led by their leaders, must remain.

The emancipation of all the negroes in North America at one stroke of the pen was justified at the time as a necessity of war. It has since been viewed as, at all events, a most unfortunate necessity. The equally summary enfranchisement of the whole freed population was then felt to be a necessary consequence. As we look back it seems, in the summariness of it, almost a crime and that a crime against both races at once. It was then felt that only with the franchise could the freed negro protect himself. He has not however protected himself even with the franchise. A gradual enfranchisement, conditioned on some progress of the individual toward fitness, would have been far better for all concerned. A more gradual process of naturalization of immigrants to our shores would, at least in more recent years, have been a far wiser policy than that which we have pursued. These errors have had at least one of their roots in

a proclivity for sentiment and abstraction and in a precipitate idealism which has often postponed the very issues which it sought. The fact that the British West Indies have escaped the American difficulties touching the negro is likely to have decisive influence upon British policy in South Africa. In the old Confederate States there could however be no retracing of steps. The freedman must be educated. The education at first offered had proved only partially successful. It was reserved for the son of a Hawaiian Island missionary, who had seen in the Islands the result of missionary education, to inaugurate a new era. Armstrong had been a soldier and then a government administrator in the South. He had learned to love the coloured race. He laid the foundation of the Hampton Institute in Virginia where agriculture and trades were primarily to be taught. Only upon the basis of an industrial training was any other education to be pursued. Booker Washington, a pupil of Armstrong, later founded Tuskeegee in Alabama, an institution which has perhaps surpassed even Hampton in its usefulness. It is a more remarkable achievement since it is so largely an achievement of the coloured race itself. Washington writes simply concerning himself. He was the son of a negro slave woman. He knew nothing of his father except that he was a white man. He has sometimes been held to illustrate the contention, of the value of which it is difficult to be sure, that no great negro has ever been of pure negro blood. However that may be, he is credited with the bitter witticism that it is clear, at all events, that the negro blood is the stronger element of the two, since the possession of even a thirty-second part of it in America makes a man a negro. Certainly his loyal identification of himself with the race of his mother leaves nothing to be desired. Our generation in America has produced few men who surpass him in energy or lofty character. His school, the Tuskeegee Institute, has won the support even of irreconcilables at the South. It has won support also in highest measure at the North, where men feel that thus a true basis for the solution of the problem at the South has been found. There are not wanting those of Washington's own race who feel that the industrial education tends to fix the place of the negro in

society, and to maugurate an industrial servitude not different in its effect from the old bondage from which at such costs the war had set him free. Washington answers serenely that he has no quarrel with higher education for those who need that. He knows that there are those who need that which is offered at Tuskeegee. In the wake of slavery nothing has been more necessary than the ennobling of the conception of labour. Nothing has been more necessary than the laying of a foundation for the economic independence of the descendants of emancipated slaves, an independence which only the saved earnings of labour can effect. The Hampton experiment has been repeated on a smaller scale in a score of institutions at the South. Its results have been studied by commissions sent from various protectorates and colonial governments in Africa. It has greatly influenced the policy of the United States in Porto Rico and the Philippines. Its methods have been adopted in many schools in the northern states, and that not alone for the children of immigrants, but also for those of a part of the population long resident in the country. For many of these youths manual and industrial training is, at least, the point of departure for any education which it is worth while to try to confer.

On occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1st, 1913, Washington took occasion to publish in one of the best known of the reviews a résumé of the progress of the coloured people in America. He dealt with the accumulation of capital, with the admission of the black man to trades, with his place in industries and in commerce, in the arts and in professional life, with his assumption of responsibility in civil and social affairs, with his participation in charities and philanthropy, his contribution to reform in education, his place in morals and religion. The showing is almost beyond belief even of those who have held a hopeful view of an extremely difficult situation. The disadvantages of the negro have been cruel. The discrimination against him has been and still is grossly unjust. The fraud and violence practised upon him have been outrageous. Of no people who come within the survey of these lectures is it more true than of the negro at the

South that he started a half a century ago with absolutely nothing. More than that, he started with an inheritance from slavery which was much worse than nothing. It has been said with bitterness that until comparatively recent years the inhabitants of the antipodes had more share in the solicitude of American Christians than had these children of the dark continent whom the greed of our own ancestors laid helpless at our doors. No race has ever had a more honourable share in its own redemption. There is that which is most moving in Washington's recital. His statements are a great rebuke to the hostility to the negro which is still often shown. They must be remembered when one thinks of the poverty which the Southern States still show, of the illiteracy which still prevails, of the immorality which is undeniable, of the paganism which is still now and then to be found. If there is a dark side of the history of the negro under freedom in America, there is a bright side as well. The main point is that now, at least, the problem which besets him is the same problem which besets us all. In those words one might phrase the ultimate justification of emancipation, enfranchisement and even some portion of the infinite evils following upon those steps which could perhaps have been avoided. The steps may have been premature. Even so, they had their place in making the task of the coloured people identical with our own. That is a great gain. The African in America has set his foot upon the rung of the ladder by which all the other peoples have climbed. He does not escape the difficulties and dangers of the ascent. But then no more do we. The road is open before him for a progress in which, in memory of their own sins, the whites are under sacred obligation to help him. That progress however, in the last analysis, he must make for himself. All the experience which humanity has accumulated is his. These things have been given to him in so far as they can ever be given to any man. No one except himself can make them his own. His being in the midst of the land of the whites has in it a certain pathos. It enhances his difficulties. Yet does anyone suppose that those same men whose progress Washington describes would have travelled so far as they

have toward the goal of human life had they been in the heart of Africa? There is another and perhaps still better figure for the progress which the coloured race is making. It was used by one of Sir John Kirk's men, one of the heroes of the war against the slave trade at Zanzibar. He had remained as a government functionary in the basin of the Great Lakes after the war was over. Someone asked what he could show for all the lives and money poured into the education of the tribesmen whom he had helped to free. He replied that many of them had learned the alphabet. They had learned the alphabet of a great many different things. They had learned the alphabet of practically all of human life. It was hardly fair after so short a time to ask how far they had got beyond the alphabet. Life now in the Southern States sets the negro the universal human problem. That could not have been said before the war. Nor could it have been said since the war, were it not for the labours of devout men and women on behalf of the race, and for the heroic endeavours of the men and women of that race on their own behalf, labours in industry, in education, in the propaganda of pure religion.

If now we turn immediately to speak of western education in China it is from one point of view because we thus draw the greatest possible contrast. China is the land which in higher measure than any to which the men of the West have gone had an ancient and widely disseminated cultivation of its own. It had a high civilization. It assigned to learning the supreme place in that civilization. After the rulers, the most eminent man in Japan was the soldier. In India he was the priest. In China he was the scholar. China had an ancient and revered system of instruction. Representatives of that system were to be found in every village in the land. Education was of the most democratic character. It was barred by rank and station to none. Great was the pride of all the village in the youth who promised to bring to it the honours of a learned man. The little money needed was forthcoming from his clan for the long years of industrious working and waiting for a high degree. A lad of humblest origin from the remotest province might enter upon the long road of examinations

which led to the most exalted post in the service of the country. There were gentry in China, but no nobility. The Manchus alone, as victors in war, were rewarded with high sounding titles. The honoured in China were those who held positions to which education led. In no land has promotion in the public service ever depended so simply upon examination with respect to intellectual attainments within that area of attainment which men had agreed to honour.

In Mogul India and with the Saracens favourites are sometimes described as having been raised in a moment from the dust to the post of a vizier. Romance in these countries often turns upon the elevation of the shrewd and virtuous, occasionally also of the shrewd who were not virtuous, from the lowest rank to the highest office, in the twinkling of an eye. Actual life in Bagdad, at Delhi, or at Constantinople seems, upon occasion, to have borne resemblance to the tales in the Arabian Nights. The Dowager Empress of China however would never have dared to break with the theory of the civil service in her country. Even under her the offices from lowest to highest were filled just as they had been filled for fifteen hundred years, after examinations which subjected candidates to trials from which not one in a score successfully emerged. Even revolutions never broke down the system. They merely put the administration of it into new hands. The working of the system had indeed become doctrinaire in the last degree. The area of the cultivation required was one which we should have regarded as remote and futile. Men were chosen, for high positions in the provinces which were often inundated by the great rivers, not because they had knowledge of engineering or of scientific agriculture or experience in dealing with conditions of famine. They were chosen, as their predecessors had been chosen before them, because they had extraordinary knowledge of the moral system of Confucius and of the poetry of the Golden Age. When one puts it in this way there is something which is almost humorous in this misdirection of endeavour. Yet it is not as if there had been a knowledge of agriculture or of engineering available in China. The ancient system

had continued unchanged in a manner which is conceivable only in a land whose every instinct was conservative. Yet it had been at bottom an effort to secure men of intelligence and of a certain kind of character. Few men can have won its prizes without some sort of intelligence. It had been an effort to secure those who were at least conversant with the classical discussions concerning virtue. Familiarity with the discussion of character is not the same thing with having character. Yet a man could not have escaped the impression that there is such a thing as conduct. The system had aimed to secure men of conduct. With all the limitations of the Chinese education in time past, we must own that it maintained peace, it conserved order, it taught men loyalties, it held them to duty within certain set relations, in a way that it is not certain that the new education, boastfully utilitarian as it is, will do, if it is to stand in the isolation in which men are now seeking it. Such as it was, the system which we have described was a deference to the intellectual life. In that deference no race has ever surpassed the Chinese. In no nation has the scholar counted for so much. One of us who has carried an introduction to one of the learned men of the old school has probably brought away the impression that he had had, until that moment, no conception of the repose and dignity of the scholar's life.

These facts give us pause when we consider that all that is necessary is a change of direction of all this vast intellectual energy. All that is necessary is that this same consuming intellectual diligence shall be preserved and given a new application to life. All that is necessary is that this notable mental power shall be applied to objects of knowledge and departments of action for which the Chinese have cared little in time past, but for which they now care quite as much as we. They as much as we have come to regard these new objects as essential to the welfare of modern men and states. It has been commonplace of late to say that when the world is open to the Chinese the western nations may look to themselves because of Chinese thrift and industry. One who knows China would add that we shall have need to look to ourselves because of the extraordinary

intelligence of the Chinese. The Chinese scholar may have known little about machines, particularly about machines of destruction. He knew nothing about ships and guns and fortifications. As one of them has bitterly said, " When we do know these things you Christians will consent to call us civilized." He knew little about mining or manufactures, and less about international law or history or foreign tongues. Yet the stability of China for two millenniums, the happiness of much of the life of the country, the faithfulness of the people, their industry, honour and affection, give us food for thought as we ask what is practical in education. At all events, nothing is more clear than that the Chinese man is now determined to unlearn some things which have made for the happiness of his race in the past and become competitors with us in many things which have made chiefly for the misery of Christendom.

It has not been, save indirectly, by the blows of the foreigners, least of all has it been by those of the missionaries, that this ancient system of education which seemed impregnable, has been battered down. Had it remained entrenched in the respect of the Chinese others would have assaulted it in vain. No foreigner would dare even now to speak of it with the disparagement with which the Chinese themselves speak. It is only remotely because of the strangers that the old examination sheds to which tens of thousands of anxious youth once resorted are empty and rotting away. It is because of that which the Chinese man himself believes as to the relation of the ancient system to the life of his land. He has turned upon the old system and is rending it. The fury which he has against it is proportionate to the veneration which he once accorded it. He asks : " What did it do for my country ? " The blue coated scholar of the old school is homeless, aimless, useless, a pitiable object in the land where a decade ago he was in his village like a little king. Men of breadth and horizon are now asking that the learning of the old school be accorded a larger place in the curriculum of the new universities which the government is diligently fostering. In the schedules of those schools there was at the first scarcely a sign that the traditional training would be remembered. Occasion has been taken of the revival of

Confucian worship under the republic to renew this request. Missionary colleges have made plain that they mean to keep the Chinese classics in the same place in their literary study which they had given them before. They know that the present excitement will pass. The old culture must reassert itself. It bore relation to that which was best in China. They know that the modern movement in its exclusiveness and intolerance contains grave dangers of the demoralization of the Chinese.

Now against this background which we have endeavoured to draw, what have we to say of the education which was at first offered by the missionary schools and colleges? For it was the missions which first offered western education in China. Interest in the education of the Chinese, as manifested by strangers others than missionaries, came late and has never attained great proportions. Interest of the Chinese in western education came most recently. The education at first offered in the missionary colleges was of precisely the sort which we observed in the case of the beginnings among the free negroes of the Southern States. It was the education given in the English and American colleges of the day. It was the kind of education which the missionaries themselves had had. It was what we called in our previous paragraph education for leadership. It was addressed to the raising up of leaders within the incipient Chinese Christian communities. We must never forget how important was the raising up of such leaders. These would be first of all ministers and teachers, then also physicians and men of affairs, representative persons in the general life of their communities. When one thinks of the elements of the population which were actually reached by the early missionary schools, the people of the lower middle class and of the very poor, it is easy to say that their real need was of industrial education. But, as before, we have to remember that in the era of the beginnings there was as yet no education, even in England or America, which could have been called by that name. Industrial education is that for which no small part of the converts in China are now crying. However with the government ready and eager to take up this task in far larger way, it is doubtful

if in China, at all events, this aspect of training will ever have considerable place in the missionary propaganda. Competition with the government schools is difficult and unnecessary. Industrial training is the most expensive of all forms of training. It issues moreover, in a country like China, almost inevitably in relation to trade, and in trade itself which missions cannot wisely assume.

Furthermore, when these concessions have been made, it may still be said that perhaps the mission colleges with their old-fashioned education builded more wisely than they knew. In a manner which the missions can never have forecast, leaders in every walk in life, in the new democratic movement in China, have come from the ranks of the former pupils in the missionary schools and even from the children of the Christian communities. These communities are still almost microscopically small compared with the total population of China. Their representation however among the leaders of new China is out of all proportion to their numbers. Indeed it constitutes one of the most striking facts in the present liberal movement. The government schools of the western model are hardly yet old enough that a great debt of this sort should be due them, despite the fact that, as in all revolutions, men of extreme youth have often held high places. Youth trained in the missionary schools have thus in striking manner come to the front under the new régime. This result is moreover in striking contrast with the first effect which this western education had upon those who came under its influence. At that time the effect appeared to be disadvantageous. The western knowledge which found lodgment in the mind of the convert or of his children, through the mission schools, had in the early days the same effect which followed also upon the western man's gospel. It separated the pupil from his fellows and cut him off from advancement in the usual careers. In the period prior to the edicts of 1902 one might well have asked, What could a youth bred in the Christian schools do in China with that which he has been at pains to learn at the mission? The whole apparatus for advancement in life rested, as we have seen, upon homage to a culture altogether different from that which was offered in these schools. In those days it

was truly surprising that any youth except the children of converts ever came to these schools. That the children even of converts thus came was evidence that the Christian community had accepted its position as a kind of enclave in the midst of the Chinese world and cared, or at all events hoped, little for advancement in that world.

After the inauguration of the reforms this situation was suddenly reversed. The curriculum for which the mission schools had long stood was in principle that which the government now adopted. The topics upon which it had insisted became the topics in the civil service examinations. The subjects which these schools had for decades taught in their small way were now the main items of instruction in the government universities. Not merely had the Chinese thus gone over to the ground of the missionary schools. They felt profound respect for those who had always occupied that ground. The missionary education, such as it was, had been understood by the Chinese as education. It had been a cultivation which fitted men for the intellectual life. It had had a different area of topics from the Chinese education, but it made the same kind of appeal. It had had in view not merely bread winning, but the life of the mind. It was the appeal of scholars to scholars. When the cataclysm came the missionary schools and colleges were found in the position of real leadership. They were in the van of the movement in which the government schools were now bringing up the rear. Practical consequences followed. For example, with the establishment of the rural postal service and of telephone and telegraphic communication in China, there came a sudden great demand for youth who possessed knowledge of electricity and of certain mechanical appliances, who had moreover a little acquaintance with foreign languages, especially with English. It may not have been much which the boys from the Christian schools knew of these subjects. The scientific equipment of these schools had generally been meagre enough. At all events they knew more than anyone else. There was an instant premium upon the learning which had been despised. There were countless openings for the young men who had once seemed to be cut off from preferment. In 1907 Sir Robert Hart said in Peking

that the Customs, to which department the establishment of the above-mentioned service had been entrusted, could take no cognizance whatever of a man's religion. It was however a fact that a very large portion of the staff were Christian men. In less degree the same cause has worked temporarily to the filling of other careers with a class of men who, from having been looked upon before 1900 as the enemies of their country, were now looked upon as its most valued servants. The newly established government schools were organized with a number of Christian teachers out of all proportion to the number of Christians in the land. This was true even for the schools for boys. It was still more true of those for girls and young women. Prior to the reform there had been almost no western education whatsoever for women except that which had been given in the mission schools.

Manifold were the effects of this artificial situation upon the mission schools as also upon the Chinese churches. The resort to these schools had earlier been largely of the poor and almost wholly from among those who already had some connection with the mission. Now the benches were crowded with the children of the gentry, of officials and even of the literati. These were willing to risk the contagion of Christianity if only their children might have the privilege of western education. A former ambassador of China to one of the great western nations who has spoken publicly in admirable English in defence of Confucianism, freely took this risk of infection on behalf of two nieces, his wards, if only they could come into contact with the women who were in charge of a Christian school in Canton. The government has established schools of western learning all over the land for both boys and girls, for young men and women. It is spending large sums of money upon them. On the whole however the institutions in the hands of foreigners are still held to be the best. The example of Japan gives us no reason to suppose that this will long be the case. Unless the mission schools and colleges are kept at a level of efficiency of which the usual rate of missionary expenditure gives small hope, they cannot long continue to deserve the favour which they now receive. For the

present however these schools have a very great opportunity.

Not merely were the youth in the mission schools in the old days mainly from the homes of converts but they were often being educated for the service of the Church. Now, as we have said, they are being drawn off into other activities, into civil administration and trade, before all into teaching. They are being paid more than they could ever have hoped to earn in the service of the little Christian communities. Some of them have loyally refused these rewards. Many have accepted them as was most natural that they should do. A lament goes up at the depletion of the force of religious teachers, and particularly of recruits for the ministry. Yet these youth have become influential in the opening life of their country. With some of them, of course, what of Christian conviction they had has disappeared in this process, despite the fact that under the republic there is almost complete toleration. The church, and particularly the ministry, suffers a disadvantage. This is trying, particularly at the moment when the cry is, and rightly, that the Christian movement must be passed over into the hands of the Chinese. In our own land also the opening of indefinite possibilities of ethical and social and even of religious usefulness, without the adoption of the profession of the ministry, is truly one of the signs of the times. It is the evidence of the throwing down of the barrier between the so-called sacred and secular. It is one of the results of the Christianizing of modern life in the widest and most wholesome sense. It has furnished opportunities for work in lofty enthusiasm for many who would never have been at home in the service of the church. It has also appropriated not a few who might otherwise have been at home in the service of the church. The presence of some of these in the ministry is needed to prevent the church from slipping into ecclesiasticism or going over into mere agitation. Exactly at the moment when society demands the acceptance on the part of the church of the function of the permeation of all life with the spirit of Christianity, the call of the ministry seems sometimes to be accepted mainly by those who have but little sympathy with this large task or only rudimentary

fitness for the task. If we meet this situation on a great scale in Christendom itself how can we be surprised that the little church in China, just emerging from its isolation, meets it also in its own smaller way? The church in Japan passed through this crisis years ago. It has not yet fully emerged, although the situation has improved. For reasons connected with the social order of Japan Christianity has always had access to the highest classes in Japan in a degree which is only beginning to be true in China and has never been true in India. This fact has given standing to its ministry. The Chinese church on the whole has shown the courage of the situation. The question of the ministry will right itself in time. On no account however must the best of the youth be held back from the service of God and man in any avenue of life which is ever open to them. Because this is what the Christianization of life means.

A word should be said as to the government system of education in China. Edicts of 1902-3 outlined a scheme by which each province was to have a university. There was to be a system of higher schools leading up to the universities. Agricultural, mining and technical schools were projected. A part of this grand scheme has actually been put into operation. Education for women, both the higher education and, as well, the more elementary, is proposed. Foreigners have been employed as teachers under contract for a limited period, generally three years. Of these the greatest number have been Japanese. Naturally, the best Japanese teachers are not teaching in China. In many subjects instruction has been necessarily in a foreign tongue, generally in English. Of many subjects the nomenclature in Chinese must still be created. Efforts made a generation ago to establish a terminology of anatomy in Chinese, a translation of Gray's Anatomy in the dialect of Fuhkien by a Foochow missionary of the American Board, show how slow the process may be. Numbers of Chinese youth are moreover in process of education in foreign countries. Here again by far the largest numbers have studied in Japan. In 1910 their number was thought to be about 25,000. There is a feeling that their welcome in Japan has not been all that could be desired. Selected youth are studying, many of

them under government patronage, in almost every larger university or technical school in Europe and America. Indemnity money returned by the United States to China a few years ago furnished occasion for sending a large proportion of these youth to this country. The competition for these places has been so keen that as yet the standard of ability among the men appointed is very high. They offer a new illustration of the familiar experiences of individuals, classes and even races from whose path a barrier has been removed. Of a large course which he was giving an American instructor recently said, that there attended it three men of the first order of ability, one of them was Chinese, one was a Jew and one was a woman.

The outbreak of the Revolution, the uncertainties of provisional government, the financial pressure which the new régime has had to meet have put all this grand educational scheme in jeopardy. At least, these facts have held its execution in abeyance. How vast is the plan one realizes when he recalls that there are probably seventy million Chinese of school age, or more than the total population of the German Empire. As in the case of the educational programme promulgated by the constitutionalists in Constantinople in 1908, the government has had meantime many other things to think about. Yet also schemes like that for the Hong Kong University have been viewed with favour by the Chinese themselves. Chinese contributions have been made to them in a manner which augurs well for the future. Private schools, by no means always good, have sprung up on every hand. Mission schools of every sort are in favour. Mission colleges have had official favour and wide popularity. Some of these are rapidly passing from the stage of being missionary institutions under exclusive foreign control to that of endowed institutions, partly at least under Chinese auspices. The success of one or more of these gives ground for hope that there may be a real university under Christian auspices in China, side by side with the government universities, even when these shall have fulfilled the hopes which are cherished concerning them. The experience of India seems to show that such an issue is desirable, despite the high character of the government

universities in India. In Peking there is a flourishing theological school representing the union of several Christian denominations. In this connection it is worth noting that there are only two such schools in America. There is no such school in Great Britain which includes the Anglican Church. The earnestness of the Chinese people in the whole endeavour cannot for a moment be questioned. Nothing is needed but a period of peace and stable government, of reasonable prosperity and opportunity for national development. The Chinese love of learning, the confidence in the life of the mind, will make itself felt in unexampled ways. The government effort on behalf of education meets with a more immediate popular response than the corresponding effort met at the beginning among the Japanese. There will be blundering and waste. These are the prerogatives of democratic countries. Even the mistakes may however be counted in evidence of the popular enthusiasm which we describe. It is not possible to be in China without feeling that western education is one of the great enthusiasms of the hour. It is the instrumentality to which the Chinese trust to deliver them out of the bondage to foreign powers and the threat of foreign invasion from which they have suffered so much. It is the instrumentality to which their best friends trust to deliver them out of the bondage of foreign debt and concessions which they do not seem to fear as they should. Much in the new movement is crude and superficial. This is true however of the political movement as well. It seems alternately humorous and pathetic that men should have such happy confidence in the representative principle and so little understanding of what the representative principle is, such devotion to abstractions, such facility in dividing and sub-dividing parties and so little conception of the give and take by which alone party government can subsist. There is something ironical in the fact that a man who is felt by many to be a dictator is yet the only bulwark between his country and anarchy. For all of these things the one remedy is education. It is experience and intelligent reasoning upon this experience. It is in the gradual raising of the whole vast population of the Chinese Empire to the level of the privileges and responsibilities

which they have assumed but which they are only too obviously unprepared to use.

Some important aspects of the question touching western education in eastern lands have been brought out in the section concerning China. We shall need now, in turning to Japan, to deal only with those aspects which are peculiar to the case of that country. It is not the purpose of these paragraphs to set forth with completeness the educational situation in each country. The aim is to deal with general characteristics of the educational movement as a whole. We use each nation to illustrate the special phase of the work which it seems best fitted to show forth. We assume that in some degree the delineations will supplement one another.

The period of conceded leadership of the missions and mission schools in the educational movement in Japan was extremely short. Missionaries had been in China for almost a hundred years before the general opposition to things foreign began to give way. In Japan many elements of foreign influence were making themselves felt while still the missionaries were barely tolerated. A well trained Hollander, Verbeck, sent out by the Reformed Dutch Church of America, exerted a salutary influence upon Japanese policy in educational matters in the first years of the awakening. He had to do with the Japanese government's first resolve to send students to Europe and America. These students were to be prepared for leadership in the intellectual movement which was already inaugurated in their own land. A poor Japanese youth, Neesima, fled from his country at the time when under the law he was likely to forfeit his life should he ever undertake to return. He worked his way before the mast to Boston. He became the protégé of a merchant there who sent him to Phillips Academy, Andover, and to Amherst College. Later he became secretary of the Japanese Legation in Washington and then for a time guardian and adviser of Japanese youth studying in America. He returned to his country to become, with the aid of the mission and of American friends, the founder, first of a theological school and then of a college which has now grown into a university, the Doshisha, at Kyoto. He incarnated

the striving of the educational movement to break away from tutelage, a tutelage for which nevertheless he felt affectionate gratitude. He was animated by ardent desire to put an end to the denominationalism inherited from the missions and to the domination of foreigners in the growing Japanese church. He had the insight thus at the very beginning to perceive that neither the educational nor the religious movement could remain exotic. They must become truly native and national causes. Within half a generation from its founding the little mission college for which he had given his life passed through a struggle with the American Board which supported it. This struggle was the occasion of much heaviness of heart to both parties concerned. The differences were finally settled in a manner honourable to both and, as we now see it, to the advantage no less of the college and the Japanese church, on the one hand, than of the missionary cause on the other. The Doshisha became an institution administered exclusively by the Japanese but with such aid, temporary at all events, by missionaries, in the work of instruction, as the Japanese might desire the missions to render. The notable thing here is the early date at which this issue arose and the courage and withal the courtesy with which the decision was carried through. This institution had been the apple of the eye of one of the most enlightened and liberal of missions which the American Board has ever sent forth. After a brief period of pain natural to such situations it has continued in loyal and happy relations with the mission to which it had delivered its declaration of independence. Missionary professors have spent their lives as members of its staff, being paid, in view of the needs of education in Japan, by the Board in America. The original gifts and legacies of Neesima's early friends are legally held in Boston because the donors had specifically indicated that they should thus be held. The income of these funds is however expended according to the decisions of faculty and trustees in Kyoto. The episode is typical. The period of the minority of the Japanese churches and colleges was exceedingly brief. If the prayer of the missionaries had been that their children in the faith and in western culture might grow up into maturity that prayer was

speedily fulfilled. The feeling of maturity and the desire for independence came to their protégés almost immediately. The actual fact of maturity and fitness for independence were not long delayed. The readiness to grant independence was surely one of the factors in this early naturalization of Japanese Christian institutions. Since that time missionaries and teachers have occupied to their pupils relations which parents bear to their grown-up sons and daughters, a relation which is acknowledgedly delicate and difficult, and demands something of both sides, but which is after all the ideal of parentage.

The fact of which this episode was typical is the key to the understanding of the Japanese situation as a whole. This experience of the Doshisha touched a small college, as it then was, and a little theological school, very dear to those to whom they were dear. About the institution clung the real romance of the career of its founder. Judged by any outward signs the contest might have been esteemed a petty affair. Only too easily might it have been settled in the wrong way had the mission and those responsible in America been disposed to be dogmatic or even only timid. Missionary educational work was begun in India a century ago. Indeed, if we went back to Ziegenbalg and Schwartz, we might say a century and three-quarters. Such a work was begun in the Ottoman Empire a hundred years ago. It was begun in China fully eighty years ago. Yet in none of these countries until the present day has there arisen an imperative demand on the part of the Christians of the race concerned for the taking over into their own hands of the instrumentalities of Christian education or evangelization. The causes of this fact are not simple. They are not the same in all cases. The fact is however significant. In China the appreciation of western education is very recent. In India the Christian body is very poor and little used to initiative or responsibility. It looks to government to sustain some of its privileges, to the missions to maintain others. In the Ottoman Empire the pattern was set in the case of Robert College at Constantinople and then of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, and in the Woman's College in Constantinople, of a corporate organization for

these institutions free of missionary control. In the case of Robert College this step was rendered necessary by the unwisdom of the missionary board concerned. It was taken however by the foreigners themselves, Ottoman subjects being admitted on American initiative to participation in the control. The lack of homogeneity from the point of view of either race or faith in its constituency would have made any other course impossible. In Japan however the issue was almost immediately drawn and the decision had influence upon missionary relations in Japan from their very earliest history. Few can really have had insight into the universal significance of the facts with which they dealt. The transaction made possible, as we now see, the expansion of the Doshisha into a real university acknowledged by the imperial government. The university is Japanese in its responsibility and Christian in its spirit. It is representative of the independent Japanese church which leads in the movement for the unification of all the churches. It bears relation to the life of learning in the land which it could hardly have acquired under foreign auspices. On the other hand it could certainly not have achieved this position without loyal foreign aid.

As was intimated in the paragraph on China, there has been discussion of the idea of a Christian university in all these lands. The discussion has naturally been most acute in Japan where the government universities are of a high order. The project is mooted ever afresh of a union university on a grand scale under missionary auspices. The project has taken no definite form as yet. Perhaps the scale of the institution projected leads men, especially foreigners, to overlook the beginnings which have already been made in a case like that of the Doshisha, of a Christian university under Japanese control. It is debatable whether an institution really under Japanese auspices, even if small, is not far preferable to a larger institution under foreign guidance and upon foreign responsibility, no matter how liberally minded those responsible may be. Or, to put it differently, it is debatable whether an institution of this latter sort, even if it should be called into being by foreigners, would not have to pass out of the hands of the foreigners before it really fulfilled its purposes. In other words, it may be

doubted whether such an institution would not have, in its maturity and with difficulty, to go through the same crisis through which the Doshisha went with relative ease in the suppleness of its youth. There is still a third possibility, which a university like the Waseda suggests. An endowed institution of Japanese origin and control, under a private corporation and without religious affiliation, may yet be able to do some things which the state universities cannot, and some others possibly which the mission colleges cannot. In the spirit of its illustrious founder, the Count Okuma, the Waseda has not indeed been committed to Christianity, but it has not been obliged to stand in the same negative attitude toward the whole question of religion which has appeared to be proper in the case of the national universities.

At bottom there are two questions relating to a university under the Christian name. The one is the question of the desirability and the other is that of the feasibility of such a scheme. Where the state institutions, theoretically strictly neutral in the matter of religion, are of so high an order as are those in Japan, one ought not to embark upon such a project as that of the founding of a Christian university without a very clear idea. If the intention were that of even an indirect propaganda we should certainly jeopardize the very ideal of a university. The ideal of a Christian university is one difficult to establish with precision, even against the background of a tradition of education like that which has obtained in the eastern states of the American Union. Yet it appears to be demonstrated in the American experience that an endowed institution can do certain things in relation to religion which an institution supported from taxation cannot properly do. It can officially maintain the opportunity and privilege of Christian worship. It can also give Christianity a plan in the curriculum, a standing among the other subjects of learned and adequate discussion. It can thus give the life of the university community a religious expression. All attempts to teach religion without teaching any particular religion have thus far, both in Japan and in America, fallen short of any serious effect. An attempt to maintain a religious atmosphere which is not the atmosphere of any particular religion is of doubtful success. The ideal

of a university free to acknowledge its Christian quality and at the same time vindicating in the treatment of these subjects its scientific character is the same in Japan that it is in America. It is an ideal which is fully within the rights of an endowed institution. It is practically beyond the proprieties of a state institution. It is a difficult ideal. It is hard for a university of the one type to avoid discriminating in favour of one religion. It is equally difficult for a university of the other type to avoid discriminating against all. It is however a clear ideal. There is no need to claim that it is the only ideal. We have no cause however to be in doubt as to the place of such an institution in the life and culture of a nation as a whole.

The feasibility of the establishment of such an institution, say in Japan, is another question. The primary constituency in such an institution would certainly be the youth of the Christian communities. It would be of those who desired an education as good as that which the state offers and desired something besides, which the state is not able to offer. If youth from any other circles chose to attend such a university that would be their own affair. With the perplexity in which sober spirits in Japan are at this moment as to religious questions, with the anxiety which they feel about public and private morals, the number of non-Christians resorting to a Christian university might possibly be not small. That would depend however altogether upon its being a good university, as good as those which the state sustains. It must not offer its Christianity as an offset to the learning which it lacks and freedom which it denies. It must offer this in addition to all the other things which it possesses. This is the inviolable condition of success. We must disabuse our minds of the idea that because of its competition with the state such a university must needs at once be conspicuous or that the resort to it must be great. Not at all. The primary constituency of such an institution would naturally be small. It could be made great at once only by the university's attempting some unnatural thing. The possibilities of its support would grow as its constituency grew. The qualities of which we speak would carry the appeal of such an institution into circles which are perfectly

able to pay for it. It is conceivable that, in the anxiety concerning religion and morals to which we referred, an anxiety which is far more widespread in Japan just now than many persons believe, such a university might make rapid progress. What we are saying is that such a university must be a Japanese and not a foreign affair. At the same time it is clear that the little Japanese Christian communities, which are still largely among the poor, can hardly be expected to create such an institution without aid. If they must do this, progress will be slow. They should have help at this juncture of men of insight in the western world. The strain of the support of such an institution at the highest level of technical efficiency, as over against the lavish expenditure and perfect organization of the government institutions, would be a grave problem. Finally it must be acknowledged that the state has shown justifiable reserve as to recognition of any private institutions, and particularly of those of foreign and religious affiliations. It hesitates to put any of these upon a par with the state institutions. Recognition carries with it not merely access to all professions and to all forms of public service but also certain modifications of the compulsory military duty. It is natural that the government should withhold this recognition except in the cases where it really can no longer be denied. The attainment of this recognition by even a few Christian institutions, the Doshisha among them, constitutes therefore high praise.

From the early days of the development of western education among them the Japanese were made aware of the strained relations which existed between education, especially in its natural-scientific aspects, and the current theology and religion of western lands. These were the early years of the decade of the seventies. The Syllabus of Errors and the Decree of Infallibility had fixed the position of the Roman Catholic Church in antagonism to many things modern. The position thus taken has made difficult the participation of the Roman Catholic missions in the higher education of any of the lands of which we speak. The case was not widely different in many of the Protestant bodies. Many scientific men and philosophers in England, on the continent and in America, saw no reason for compromise

with any religion. Materialism appeared to many to be triumphant. Men were as sure as they had been at the end of the eighteenth century that the days of Christianity were numbered. Conversely in many devout circles it was felt that no quarter was to be given to the sciences. Two disparate views of the nature and origin and destiny of the universe, including man, faced one another. We read the laboured apologetic of those days, with its violent assault upon the doctrine of evolution, with a sense that it is as remote from us as are the arguments of Bishop Butler. They seem to us even more remote because on the whole the argument was so much less consistent and able than was that of Bishop Butler. Some of the men of learning drawn together from western countries for the purpose of the founding of the University of Tokyo told the Japanese that Christianity was hopelessly discredited in its own lands. Many shrewd and silent Japanese youth at Oxford or Harvard, in Paris or Berlin, witnessed what they took to be convincing proofs of that discrediting. Indeed had it stood by the objurgation of some of the loudest defenders of the faith in those days Christianity would have been discredited. On the moral side the case was not much better. These were the days in which a Japanese gentleman expressed to a friend his deep concern on behalf of his son who had fallen under the influence of missionaries. The father feared that he might become a Christian. "Send him to America," was the reply, "he will there see that which will cure him of all such desires."

What wonder if leadership in education on the part of missions and the Christian community was never attained in any such measure as we have seen in the case of China. The little that had been gained was soon lost. A movement indifferent to religion and in part actually hostile to it began almost at once, and precisely among those who were deeply interested in foreign education. It was a movement against the western religion which had amongst its consequences an effort to revive Shintoism as the Japanese state religion. It was not immediately perceived that Shintoism was even more difficult of combination with the modern scientific view of the universe than was popular Christianity. There

had been a short time during which things foreign were in favour, even including the Christian religion. Things western, from the most important to the very details of dress, had been popular because they were foreign. Then came a period when many of the same things were rejected for the same reason, namely, that they were foreign. Everything Japanese was to be restored. Everything western was to be rejected, except that which was necessary to those phases of progress upon which the Japanese people had set their hearts. The oscillation was trying. This reassertion of a racial sentiment which had never been entirely in abeyance was however a fortunate thing for the Christian movement in Japan. It left in the Christian communities only those who had inner reason for remaining. It was an equally fortunate thing for Japan as a whole. It rendered certain that whatever was permanently to influence the Japanese would not lie on the surface of their life. It would have to pass through the Japanese mind. It would not merely be imitated by them, it would be assimilated. If it could not be assimilated it would be repudiated. Many things which the Chinese at the present moment think they have adopted they have merely grasped with their hands. They would still be the same Chinese if one were to wrest these things out of their hands. In Constantinople also much of that concerning which large words are made, is yet utterly superficial and seems likely to remain so. The parallel condition was only a momentary one with the Japanese. The assimilative powers of the race asserted themselves almost instantly. That which it took it made its own. That which it could not make its own it gave up again. The putting on and off again of European garments on the part of a considerable part of Japanese society was quite typical. Western garments may still be esteemed practical by certain Japanese for certain purposes. But those elements of western life which the Japanese have not put off like a rejected garment have gone into their flesh and blood. Western education remains indeed in some sense western. In origin it must always be that. That is a mere historic fact. Yet nothing is clearer than that it has become Japanese education in its inmost fibre and in its farthest ramification Western

administration in Japan bears the same trait. In the farthest island or in the fastnesses of the mountains, one has the impression of having seen these details of administration before and yet of now seeing them differently. You behold on every side familiar details of European life but nothing quite as it was in Europe. The same sentiment is leading to-day to the nationalization and naturalization of Christian impulses and of the Christian faith in Japan in a degree to which no other nation holds a parallel. It is creating an indigenous church where otherwise we should have had for a long time only an exotic institution or rather, a series of more or less successful imitations of our sects. It is this sentiment which at one time made the name of missionary odious to the Japanese. If therewith were implied a national inferiority of the Japanese, the continuance of tutelage, the domination which the foreigner naturally exerted at the first, the missionary name would still be odious. Yet no people in the world is more grateful for the aid of foreigners, whether they call themselves missionaries or not, so only that these latter offer without patronage their aid in the religious and moral, in the social or intellectual, life of the nation and leave the manner and issue of the appropriation of that which is offered to the Japanese themselves. Once the missions have taken up the position, which for the most part they have taken, there will be no more talk of the sort which was rife some years ago that the Japanese wish no more missionaries. The Japanese Christians know too well their own small numbers, their poverty and the greatness of the problem, not to be glad of sympathetic foreign help. They are quite right in being unwilling to receive this help except upon their own terms. They are quite right in feeling that the phase of missionary work which shall be useful to them has changed. There are phases of the work for which they are far more competent than the foreigner. This is true in general of evangelization, which is yet the very phase of the work which a certain type of foreigner has always been most anxious to take upon himself. It is not in evangelization, it is in education of the preachers and teachers and evangelists that the foreigner is of most value. The educational work of missions will survive when

the rest has faded away into success. For this educational work smaller numbers of men and women from the West will suffice. The churches do not want foreign preachers. Their evangelists are better than ours. Teaching however remains. A grand function of guidance remains for those who know how in tact to guide and to avail themselves of the opportunity. In these circumstances it is however folly to send any but the best to such a land as Japan.

Turning for a moment to the topic of the public education in Japan, one almost feels that by the very success of the Japanese in this field their achievement is put beyond the compass of this discussion. In other portions of our subject we have had the sense of dealing with approaches to European standards, with degrees in a process af assimilation. In the educational system of Japan we acknowledge that we speak of a magnitude which has taken its place in the realm of models. From it Europe and America have to learn. In the Baron Kikuchi's lectures, delivered before the University of London a few years ago and, in more popular form even in the chapters on education in Count Okuma's " Fifty Years of New Japan," we have full proof of this. That which Japan has achieved in the educational field in fifty years may be looked upon with emulation by some nations whose methods Japan indeed included in its study but which are bound fast in a tradition from which the Japanese are fortunately free. In theoretical discussion and discovery Japanese students devoted to research have recently had their full share. In practical application of the last results of science we have but to recall the surgery and hygiene of the Japanese army during the Russian war. When one thinks how the technical side of education is made to support the development which Japanese trade is undergoing, with also its manufactures, its arts and its agriculture, when one sees how perfectly the compulsory system bears these benefits in a measure to the humblest in the land, one is fain to say that, among all the wonders with which new Japan confronts us, there is nothing more wonderful than the educational system which the Empire has evolved. The oldest university in the United States did itself the honour in 1913-15 to invite for two years' service on its staff and

as a sort of parallel to its old exchanges of professors with Germany and France, the Professor of Philosophy of Religion in the University of Tokyo. Professor Anesaki has already given to the world interpretations of Buddhism from the point of view of one who is himself a Buddhist. Without similar personal faith on the part of the author of a discussion of Christianity we should hardly judge that an interpretation of Christianity was worthy of primary consideration.

That the state educational system should be essentially secular is not surprising. It would be far more surprising were it not so. As we said above the Japanese government did for a short time establish a tenuous relation to Shintoism. That relation in the end appeared to the Japanese themselves unwise. It was not intended in any case to be inimical to the principle of absolute toleration. An interesting evidence of concern for the moral life of the nation is given however in the fact that three years ago the minister of education in the imperial government invited Shintoists, Buddhists and Christians to send representatives to an official conference upon the religious interests of the land. The fact is interesting because the Christian community in Japan is still very small compared with the others. Men are still living who can recall the placards which, before the Meiji era, stood at the cross roads declaring Christianity inimical to the state. The invitation may fairly be taken to mean that the authorities recognize the Christian movement as a Japanese religious movement and frankly wish to avail themselves of all the resources of religious and moral education which are at the disposal of the country.

In interesting way Buddhists are endeavouring to adjust their faith to the enlightened life of newJapan. Confucianism seems to have fallen into the background. Yet in this case a parallel effort should be no more difficult than in the case of Buddhism. Rather, it should be easier. In the minds of many even of its own adherents Confucianism is not a religion, but only a moral system. It should be capable of combination with other religious elements than those which it has gathered from Taoism in China or Shintoism in Japan. Shintoism, in so far as it is purely a nature religion, can hardly live with the view of nature which science imposes. Then

also there is the loyalty to the Emperor and there are the loyalties to clan and family, the loyalties to masters and teachers and friends, the loyalties by which Japanese life has been bounded and which have been diligently inculcated. These have all had root in religious views which have not been unimpaired in the changes which have taken place. These loyalties are not only of exalted beauty in themselves but they are of supreme importance to the social and political life of the nation. On every hand is the stirring of religious and moral reform. One effect at least of the educational movement and even of the Christian propaganda is evidently to be, for the present at least, the regeneration of the native faiths of Asiatic men. It is to be the infusion into these faiths of other elements than those which they themselves engendered but which they may be able to make their own. Or again, the effect of this intellectual and moral stimulation may be the recovery of valid elements inherent in these religions but which have been for ages overlaid and suppressed. It is to be expected that votaries of these faiths, some of whom have become men of highest cultivation in western subjects, should eagerly seek this readjustment and renewal of their ancestral beliefs. If Shintoism and Buddhism find this adjustment difficult, can we forget that only a few years ago Christians in Europe and America found the parallel adjustment of traditional Christianity to modern philosophy and natural science and Biblical criticism extremely difficult? Is it too much to say that in all our western countries there are large groups of Christians for whom that adjustment is still very incomplete? Can we deny that in the minds of many Christians in our own midst that assimilation of religion with the modern world-view, which a real education requires, leaves much to be desired? Whether Buddhism in Japan or Islam in Turkey and Egypt can really make this transition, whether they can really furnish light and power to men under the new conditions as they certainly did under the old, whether, in other words, they can live with the new culture and civilization as they did with the old, that is a question for Buddhists and Mohammedans to answer. It is a question which we neither need nor dare to prejudge. In the measure in which they can do this they

may have long life and much usefulness before them. In the measure in which they cannot do this, men in the new age and changed culture must look elsewhere for the moral aid which they will not willingly be without. We are here applying to those other faiths no other law than that which most of us see to be inexorably true and just for Christianity itself.

So true is this that we have verily small ground to withhold sympathy from serious men who in Japan are making the same effort on behalf of Buddhism which many are making on behalf of Christianity in our own midst. The religious values are everywhere at stake. Religious readjustments and reinterpretations are everywhere necessary. Those ancient faiths can hardly be expected to die without making the effort of which we speak. They certainly cannot be expected to live without making this effort. No more can we with our own Christian faith. The conditions of culture and civilization in which a living faith must do its work perpetually change. Christianity seems to us by comparison with other faiths to be so much alive, exactly because it has already many times successfully met these changes and stands ready to meet them again. Buddhism and Islam seem to us less vital because on the whole they have made so few radical changes. They have had on their part something to do with the changelessness of the Orient. The changelessness of the Orient however and now the sudden and sweeping changes which have come upon it, have something to do with the difficulties in the midst of which convinced advocates of these ancient faiths find themselves. Yet think again how radical have been the changes through which we ourselves have but recently passed. At the moment when missionaries and founders of western education went to Japan, was that view of nature and history which now seems to us axiomatic an ancient view, long held and perfectly adjusted to the Christian faith? Quite the contrary, it was so little adjusted that to many Christians and probably many missionaries it seemed utterly incompatible with the Christian faith. To the educational experts themselves it was new. It was so rapidly changing that the foreign teachers newly arriving in Japan probably

looked into the scientific periodicals to see how much the world-view had changed while they were at sea. It is but a generation ago that such a crisis as this came upon Christianity in Europe and in America. It seemed to divorce a racial faith and a general culture which had lived together for a thousand years. How much more acute must that crisis be as between European culture in its most mobile aspects and say, Buddhism, which is perhaps the least mobile of the faiths of man. When one states the case thus in exaggerated and paradoxical form, it is easy perhaps for a zealot to cry that the adjustment is wholly impossible. That however, let us remind ourselves anew, is a question which not we but only the sincere and devout adherents of the faiths in question can decide. In their own view it has become necessary for these men of Japan and India to share a certain fundamental culture and civilization with ourselves. It is quite as natural that they should wish to retain the faith of their ancestors. For, after all, most men realize that faith is a much more precious possession than culture. It is naive for us to presume that those who so eagerly take our civilization must ultimately take the faith which has so long gone hand in hand with that civilization. That is at all events not to be lightly assumed. Here in our own home lands many men accept the culture and civilization but yield no inner allegiance to the faith. This is only too likely to be the case in Japan as well. There are in Japan alternatives to the Christian faith. There are two or three religions which lie nearer at hand to the Japanese than does the Christian faith and toward which some or all of the loyalties of which we have spoken impel. When one puts it in this way, one wonders not so much that efforts are being made for the resuscitation of Buddhism and Shintoism in Japan. One wonders that these efforts are not of far greater scope and urgency and enthusiasm than they are. That there is a spiritual revival of Buddhism in Japan does not admit of question. This is altogether the natural course of events, and it is a movement out of which much good may be expected to come for Japan. The primary condition of the success of such efforts is of course that the votaries of these faiths purge themselves of moral

evil. Into moral evil Japanese Buddhists, as also, in the stagnant areas and periods of our own religion, even Christian priests, have fallen. They must be good who would wish to revive religion and they must add to the stock of the good in other peoples' lives. It is for the good they do that religions exist. All over the earth the time is rapidly going by when that is esteemed to be good which priests do. The time is coming, notably in Japan, when priests will be esteemed only if they do good and aid others to do it. This is the primary regeneration of religions. By it in the new age old faiths will stand or fall. Of this ethical aspect of the question we shall speak in another place. For the moment however we are dealing with its intellectual aspect only.

The learned interpretation of religion is by no means a substitute for religion. Nor is it even certain that the most learned interpreters must necessarily be the largest possessors of the treasure of religion. Quite the contrary. Nevertheless, the learned interpretation bears a relation to the life of religion which is not always accorded to it in the estimate of the devout. A religion which remains long without reinterpretation in the light of the changing phases of a peoples' life becomes an element isolated, walled off from the rest of life, shut up in interminable repetitions and a meaningless round. It descends to the level of superstition and formalism. In the East life itself has been less mobile than in the West. The changes in civilization have been less constant. The fact that Christianity has never been able in like measure to stand apart from its swiftly changing world, that its periods of stagnation have been short, that ever and anon it has been caught in the whirl of progress and compelled to restate itself, has been a blessing incomparable. It has been a blessing well disguised from some priests and theologians, but a blessing nevertheless. There has been acute intellectual activity among the highest of the votaries of Buddhism or again of Mohammedanism, here and there, through all the ages. Just so it cannot be denied that there has been much learning and intellectual activity at times among those who have contributed to the stagnation of Christianity. It was however a learning and

activity which took little cognizance of the world about it. It was content to multiply its definitions and repeat its own assumptions. It spent infinite pains in elaborating conclusions from premises which it had long since ceased to examine. Incidentally one may say that these scholastic processes were much facilitated in a state of society in which there were few learned men except priests and ministers. It is salutary for Christianity that it has now to live in a world in which there are many other kinds of learning and many other classes of learned men. This benediction has now arrived for Buddhists and Confucianists and Shinto votaries in Japan. They are making acknowledgment of it. It will in time arrive even for the mollahs in Cairo. When it does arrive education in religion will no longer mean that which to-day it does mean to the hordes of intense youth in the great mosque in Cairo. It will no longer mean the repetition of that which other mollahs and preferably the most ancient mollahs, who know least about our modern world, have said. It will mean a general education in which among other questions the great question will be asked, "What has religion to say to the world and what has the world to say to religion?" This state of things is much nearer in Japan than in Egypt. When it has fully come the education of Buddhist priests will not mean merely the learned repetition of what other Buddhists have said. It will ask what the new world in Japan has to say to Buddhism and what Buddhism has to say to the new world. There has been a vast deal of learning among the Confucianists in China. It has made such demand of its votaries, especially upon their memories, as to have injured their other powers. Yet when the change of which we are speaking comes in its fullness in China men will not ask so much what the other Confucianists have said. They will ask what the new world in China has to say to Confucianism and what Confucianism has to say to the new world. In the West we have no cause to be supercilious at this point. We ourselves have learned the lesson only recently and perhaps have learned it none too well. When religious education in the synagogues and in devout Hebrew homes means more than mere repetition of what the rabbis have said, when it

asks what the great world has to say to Judaism and what Judaism has to say to the great world, there will be no such fatal alternative as that which now often faces these homes and synagogues, the alternative of unchangeable orthodoxy or else of complete irreligion. How long has it been since, in the centres of Christendom, religious education meant the imparting, as if it were authoritative, of a view of the universe which was formed when men could by no possibility have asked questions which we can by no possibility escape asking? Are there no places in Christendom to-day where the treasures of devout emotion and the just dread of an irreligious life are pathetically drawn to the support of such unsupportable instruction? In theological schools do we all even yet ask with a whole heart not what the theologians have said, but what the world in the twentieth century has to say to Christianity and what Christianity has to say to the world? At that other level what do we more than the Confucianists have been doing for two millenniums?

We have appended these reflections to the paragraph upon Japan because Japan is the land in the East where in high degree the votaries of the ancient faiths have been awakened to their emergency. Japan is the land where it has become evident to many of the votaries of Buddhism that if Buddhism has nothing to say to its present world it must give place to a religion which has something to say to that world. The learned interpretation of religion is not equivalent to religion, we repeat, yet it bears a relation to the well-being of men and religion which has not always been conceded to it. In Europe and America to-day numbers of the unlearned, men in the street, are alienated from Christianity. They think that Christianity demands of them a view of life and of the world which has become impossible to them. The learned know that such assent is not demanded by Christianity. Much popular presentation of Christianity uses a traditional language which increasing numbers of men do not understand. They do not know exactly why they do not understand it. The popular unbelief of to-day is the learned unbelief of thirty years ago. Meantime, the learned have come around to something very

much more like the possibility of a potent and glorifying faith. In a manner nothing less than pitiful, that portion of the world which in the hardness of its lot and the ferocity of its struggle has most need of the uplift of religion, to-day reads the outworn books and listens to the second-hand harangues of the materialism which was current with the thoughtful a whole generation ago. The thoughtful now know that all that is changed. The real questions are different. It will take years by the vague process of filtration of ideas through the body of society for the unlearned to see that which the learned, to whom religion means anything at all, now see perfectly clearly. Precisely that thing is happening in Japan and India to-day. Some of the high minded and enlightened, in touch with all the cultivation of the world, mean to save Buddhism and Hinduism if they can. Whether they can do so is a question which no man can answer for them. It is our own familiar crisis which has come upon them with the difference that to them it is not a familiar crisis. It has been so long since they were called upon to make such a metamorphosis of faith that the arrears are enormous and the strain is great.

The callow youth in college with his modicum of western learning says that which the same youth says with us: "So it is all over with religion." It is for men who know all that this youth knows and a great deal more besides to show that it is not all over with religion. The mere bonzes, the fakirs and mollahs can never do that, any more than the curls of the rabbi or the gown of the cleric can work the same miracle with us. You may meet that youth on the street of any city on the whole face of the earth to-day. There is no longer any clime which is peculiar to him. Nor is it against one religion only that he revolts. What that youth knows to-day the labourer will know to-morrow. The large part of the awakened eastern world will be without religion unless men of the type we are speaking of in this paragraph can show to their fellows that this abandonment of religion is not necessary. The stress is bringing such men to the front in Japan and in India to-day. It will bring them to the front in China and Turkey to-morrow. If they can render this service to their respective races

through the ancestral faiths which have been dear to these races, it will be for us Christians to rejoice in their success, to help them in their difficulties and to do our own work loyally beside them. If they cannot render this service, then first will it be time for us to say that we must try with our Christianity to render this service in their place. Buddhism did have something very real and very great to say to the world of its origin in India. It must also have had something to say to Japan when fifteen hundred years later so many Japanese adopted it. It is the creed of half Japan to-day though in India it has long since ceased to play an important part. Of the three great religions of Japan, two are foreign to Japan. They came as missionary religions. They must have undergone the process of nationalization and naturalization in Japan, of assimilation of themselves to Japan and of Japan to them. Can they undergo that process once more? It is not that they have again to travel to a world across the sea. The world from across the sea has travelled to them. The result is the same. They have not come again to the need of naturalization. The need of naturalization has come to them. They have only to stand still and do nothing in order to become alien religions in the new Japan, precisely as the paganism which was indigenous to Italy became an alien religion in Italy when the dying old world and the rising new world had asked the questions which Christianity alone could answer. If that happens the strange religion from the far West will be the one which will be at home in the East. It will be naturalized and assimilated and bound by a thousand ties to all the rest of the life of new Japan. In a situation like that which has been produced in Japan, immobility is death. No religion can live there without meeting the profoundest needs of the man of the new time. No new religion will take the place of the old save alone by meeting those same needs better than the old religion meets them. If it cannot meet this demand it does not deserve to take the place of the others. If it does meet this demand, nothing can prevent its taking their place. The process however may be a long one. Each of the old faiths may meantime have its own place and duty to fulfill.

In one sense it is a stimulating situation The best is demanded of all. I am not aware that a contention of religions for the suffrages of the sincere among men has ever taken place upon so high a plane or so much in the open and in the clear light of day. It is exactly because we have love for and faith in our own Christianity that we say that it is a solemn and inspiring sight which Japan to-day presents. Western education and enlightenment have made an unchanged Buddhism, an unchanged Confucianism or Shintoism impossible. Enlightenment only, with new zeal and consecration can show to their own votaries by what changes they may continue to be possible. Enlightenment only with new zeal and consecration, freedom from pettiness, provincialism and bigotry, willingness to be naturalized and nationalized, these alone can make Christianity worthy of the place in Japan and of the part in the religious movement of Japan which we firmly believe that it is to take.

LECTURE VI

EDUCATION : INDIA : THE PRESS : WOMEN

The British system of state education for India is a theme which does not need to be set forth at length in a book whose primary aim is to deal with missionary relations. A description of that system is no part of the plan of these lectures. Yet that education, with the results which have flowed from it, is one of the contributions made by the West to the development of the East within the nineteenth century. The missionary system of education stands moreover in such close relation to that of the state that these questions cannot be ignored. It was to the pioneers of government education a question of grave import whether the English language was to be made the vehicle of all higher education or whether, on the contrary, effort was to be made to develop a nomenclature in the vernaculars for all the new ideas which were being set forth to the Indians. This question those who administered the public education had indeed inherited from the missions. Alexander Duff, himself a missionary first of the Established Church of Scotland and afterwards of the Free Church, when he became practically an adviser concerning education for India under the Company, took high ground upon this question. He threw all his weight upon the side of the decision for English. A good deal that was wide of the mark was said in the early years of the discussion. Hopes were cherished which have been in part only fulfilled. It was held that the mediating of western culture to the Indian races through the English tongue would bind them to the English people with something like the sense of a common nationality. It is not certain in what measure this expectation has at any time been justified. The population of India was indeed inoculated with western

ideas. Among those ideas however was that of the independence of India. It is exactly among educated Indians, and not infrequently among those educated in England, that many of the opponents of the continuance of British rule in India are found.

Our interest in the question is mainly in its bearing upon the naturalization of western culture and of western religion in India. We see more clearly perhaps than did our fathers that the real problem is that of the actual grafting of certain foreign elements into the race life. It is that of causing to become in a real although secondary sense indigenous that which was originally exotic. It is that of the assimilation of the whole basis of western civilization to an eastern people and of the people to it. We are less confident than was Macaulay, for example, of the exclusive value of our own culture. We are better aware than were the men of his generation of the greatness and worth of much of Indian thought in the past. We read with amazement his praise of English literature, as if it were axiomatic that the literary taste of the Indian was to be formed upon the models of English poetry and prose. It was equally axiomatic to others in Macaulay's time that the religious feeling of the Hindu was to be cultivated by the English literature of religious experience. The men of that age were oblivious of much that is quite obvious to us. Upon some of the points concerned our minds would probably work in a manner precisely opposite to that adopted by the men upon whom these important decisions fell. From our point of view, if the question of the language of instruction were to arise as a new question, the practice of conducting instruction in a foreign language would probably be accepted as a necessary evil, a mere expedient which for a time could not be avoided. It would be quite clear that it should be but a temporary expedient. Nothing is nearer to a people than language. A teacher who for a longer period is content not to learn the language of his pupils deprives himself of the possibility of understanding his pupils no matter how well he may understand his subject. It may be doubted whether masses of people ever learn profoundly anything except that which they learn in their own tongue.

There were however practical considerations affecting the decision on the side of the English language which was then taken. Some of them are still valid. Many of the dialects of India had not at that time been reduced to writing. Most of them have been reduced to writing in the interval, mainly by missionaries for the purpose of the translation of the Bible and of instruction in the rudiments of Christianity. The great literary language of India, the Sanskrit, is as remote from the masses of the people as Latin would be in our higher schools. To this day English is the one means of communication of large elements of the Indian population the one with the other. The experience of the Indian National Congress illustrates this fact. Its discussions are conducted in English, although the members of the Congress would have only too good reason for wishing to conduct their arguments in any other language were this possible. The English language is a unifying element in Indian culture. The relation of such education to the civil service and the wide participation of Indians in that service since the Mutiny make that the hold of English over a considerable portion of the population of India has grown greater rather than less with the lapse of years. The growth of Indian national feeling with the antagonism to Great Britain has not changed this in the least. If the government of India were to pass into the hands of the Indians, English would still be the language of communication between India and the outside world. It would probably be for a long time the basis of higher education in India. The practice of the courts and the administration of government would probably still retain decisive impress of the period of English rule.

A practical adjustment was long since found and everywhere prevails. It is that English shall constitute in all the later years of school and university training not merely a subject of study. It shall be, as well, the vehicle of instruction in some other studies. On the other hand, in all the lower grades, in primary and intermediate schools, the vernaculars only are to be thus used. Nevertheless, even this relation of the English language to education in India has been to some extent the secret of the foreign cast which state and private and missionary educational institutions

still all wear. It is in part the cause of the tendency to denationalization which is bitterly complained of. This tendency some of the votaries of the higher education in the past have certainly showed. Contrast with other countries is suggestive at this point. The educated classes are not denationalized in Japan. English was for only a very limited period the language of instruction in Japan, even in the most difficult scientific subjects. Japanese national sentiment overcame this obstacle as it has overcome many others. The response in this connection is a ready one. India is no nation in the sense in which Japan is a nation. India is a congeries of peoples. It is broken and cleft in all directions by differences of language and culture, by ancient racial antipathies, by religious predilections and by the attractions and repulsions of caste. India is only the name of a place on the map. It has from time immemorial been bound together, in so far as it has been bound at all, by the external pressure of a conqueror. From an indefinite past Indians have looked up to a foreign ruler. No conqueror ever set foot upon Japanese soil. China fell under the sway of the Manchus at a period when the Mogul Empire in India was already declining. China has also many dialects and several languages. The provinces have been in their administration so nearly sufficient to themselves that the Chinese have been reproached with lack of national sentiment. Yet China is far more truly a racial and national unit than is India. It has often been said that in the East religion takes the place which is filled in the West by nationality. The observation is particularly true if one is thinking of the nations of Islam. The Moslem is a Moslem and has a fellow feeling for a brother Moslem everywhere. Questions of the colour of the skin practically disappear among those who are united by the bond of the faith of the Prophet. These antipathies disappear far more completely than they ever yet have done among Christians, despite the Christian preaching of the brotherhood of man. In India there are many Mohammedans. Yet the fact that Islam has no caste practically makes of it a new caste. The fact that Christianity cuts across all the castes makes of it a new caste. Religion has done very little and caste has done less in India

for that sentiment of humanity, that conception of the value of man as man, upon which depends that amelioration of many ills of the body social and politic to which cultivated Indians now aspire. It is difficult to see how democratic and representative government can exist without this sentiment for man as man.

Meantime it would be true to say that a large part of the population of India knows little of these agitations and aspirations. It is quite ignorant of the changes which are taking place in the world at large or even in India. The disproportion between those who can read even in their own dialect and the whole population is still, after all the efforts which have been made, portentous. A large part of the people is hardly above the level of the direst poverty. It is preoccupied with its own miseries. It is certainly in some ways less miserable than it has been under any rule of India of which we know, but it is more conscious of its misery and that after all is the greatest misery. In these circumstances, it is not surprising if the attention of government, of missions and of private philanthropy has been drawn to industrial education in India on a scale never before known. We have said that industrial education is too expensive for missions to enter upon in a large way. It requires moreover for its successful issue relations to trade which it is probably wise that missions should shun. Such relations missions except those of the Moravians have usually shunned. Industrial education would seem to be peculiarly the province of government. Such education bears close relation to those aspects of the welfare of a people which a modern and civilized state, if it neglects in one way, is bound to care for in another. If it fails to deal with the causes of plague or of famine it is forced to deal with their consequences. The Mogul government cheerfully neglected the one as much as the other. Frequency of famine in India is held to bear relation not alone to the insufficient rain and its uncertainty, but also to the uniformity of occupation of the population throughout the whole vast area. Irrigation and the creation of facilities for transportation the government has undertaken. Even the state however stands baffled at the necessity of changing directions and proportions of employment in

so huge a country. A large proportion of the population lives upon the brink of starvation in any case. Any change in the economic equilibrium, even if ultimately beneficial, drives many over that brink. The missions have had from the beginning their own reasons for feeling the value of industrial education. They have cause to wish that they could participate in this form of education far more largely than they do. Their converts have often lost caste and therewith been deprived of means of livelihood. Or again, they have been outcasts and never had any worthy means of livelihood. The problems of the physical maintenance of the little Christian communities has often been a pressing one. The general philanthropic claim makes itself felt in the missions if anywhere. The missions have had their full share in the collection and distribution of funds for relief of famine. They have rendered great service in the matter of the care of orphans after periods of famine or of plague. Men and women without a dollar to their credit have assumed the care of thousands of children at such times. Some of these children, babes in arms when they were taken, were certain to be upon the hands of the missionaries for a decade. The initiative shown by individual missionaries and their skill in the solution of certain problems thus forced upon them has been remarkable. The government has readily recognized that service. Emergencies have brought government and missions close together. There has been an organic relation between them which, except for brief moments and in small way, has never existed in any other land. This was not wholly due to the fact that both government and missionaries were foreigners. Blood is thicker than water. In crises, as in long agony of the Mutiny, the Briton knew how to trust to the character of his fellow Briton or American. Yet the theoretical position of the government has always been that of strict religious neutrality. The actual position in the old days of the Company and under many high functionaries in more recent times has been that of hostility to the missions. The real reason of their modern approach the one to the other lay in the fact that when the state awoke to its duty the missions were already there doing both educational and philanthropic work. They had a plan

and the personnel before the government had either. It would have been stupid of the government not to avail itself of mission experience. Once they had launched themselves upon it, the task was so much too large for the strength of either that it would have been inexcusable had they not in some way joined hands. The result has been a system of government grants in aid of missionary schools, particularly of industrial schools, which has created a situation peculiar to the English dominions and largely in evidence only in India and South Africa.

Government has come to the aid of the missions in problems for the common good. It has permitted the missions to come to its aid. It has done this, as we were saying, not alone in the matter of industrial training, although this was the phase of the work which lay nearest at hand. Do what it would, the government has felt the inadequacy of its own apparatus for meeting so vast an obligation. In return for its grants in aid the government stipulates nothing except that the schools shall be subject to official inspection. They shall maintain certain standards and conform to certain rules which government and the representatives of all aided education have agreed upon as advisable. The grants in aid have been extremely valuable to the missions. They amount sometimes to a large part of the cost of the maintenance of certain mission schools. Government inspection also is a thing of highest value to the mission schools. It holds them to a standard imposed by those who have been appointed as experts in education. In the old days missionaries had almost never been trained as educators. They had been trained as ministers. Under stress they had added the function of teaching after they reached their field. This is now far less true than in former years. Even now however very few commissioned missionaries have been directly appointed as educational experts. Government inspection incorporates what would otherwise be isolated schools of a peculiar character into a great endeavour in the midst of which they find themselves assigned an honourable place. Government inspection tends to prevent that injurious contrast between education in general and education conducted under religious auspices which has sometimes

appeared. On the side of the government benefits are hardly less obvious. The chief of these advantages is that there has thus been placed at the disposal of the government a body of instructors, both men and women, of an elevation of character and purity of purpose the worth of which the government has never failed gratefully to acknowledge. The government has thus won for its service men and women who knew the language and intended to remain in the country. It has brought to its aid those who knew the people by long residence among them and whom the people knew and looked to without suspicion or reproach. Aided schools are protected against one temptation into which zealous men and women have not infrequently fallen. This is the temptation to offer an eagerly desired education as a bait to bring some who might otherwise be difficult to reach within the range of a religious propaganda. Where such motives obtain there may be no guarantee that the education offered is of superior sort. Even where this is not the case, there inheres in the transaction an indirection which is the very contrary of that atmosphere in which true education can proceed. Schools which receive grants in aid from government are naturally prohibited from offering direct religious instruction, except under circumstances in which those who attend that instruction do so of their own choice. On the other hand, there is no restraint upon the exertion of private and personal influence according to a teacher's own convictions over those who willingly put themselves under that influence.

There is a small number of Mohammedan lower and secondary schools over which government supervision is extended and to which state aid is granted. It is well known, moreover, that the Indian universities give official recognition and the government grants aid in support of the College in Aligarh in the Punjab, founded by Mohammedans, conducted exclusively by Mohammedans and attended largely by Mohammedans. Forman College in Poona represents the same relation to Hinduism. The government demands nothing except that the college shall be declared by the inspectors to do standard college work. Undoubtedly the state would be willing to patronize like institutions of this

and other faiths in India in far greater measure than it has yet had opportunity to do. We may feel sure that the government was glad to find a Mohammedan institution which it could thus sustain when once it had launched upon the policy of grants in aid to Christian colleges and schools. The smallness of the number of Mohammedan colleges and universities, even in the strongholds of the Moslem world, is however in striking contrast with the number of excellent educational institutions which the Christian propagandists have established in those very same centres where at first the Christian movement had no constituency at all. Even where such Moslem schools and colleges which offer a real education have come into being, they usually owe their existence to Christian stimulus and example, to the necessity of offering a counterpoise in the realm of education to that which the Christian communities had done. This remark applies also to the Mohammedan University in Cairo and to others projected at Constantinople and elsewhere. Strangers are often impressed when they learn of the vast numbers of students in the schools for the Koran, like that in Cairo, from which a far-reaching missionary activity has gone out. The numbers are impressive. The zeal gives one food for thought. Such schools however do not come within the compass of this discussion. They do not offer education. Nothing whatever is studied except the Koran. Even these studies merely follow the tradition. They conform to no scientific principles such as the Mohammedan University at Cairo or the government higher schools or the mission colleges seek to apply to the study of Mohammedanism and the Koran.

Returning, however, to the question of the aided Christian schools in India, it is of course open to any religious body to say that it cannot conscientiously submit to conditions like those outlined above. It is open to the board supporting these schools to say that it ought not to use for education conducted under these auspices funds given with a view to religious propaganda. It may say that it does not wish to enter into such relations with a state proclaiming religious neutrality. Such missionary institutions would still have a legitimate field in the training of the children of Christian

converts. They might have in addition a constituency among the youth of those non-Christian families who still wished to use the school in full knowledge of the position which it had taken upon the religious question. This last class is not always small. Yet we may rejoice that on the whole the missions have not taken the course just outlined. It is the other position which, after all, more nearly accords with the best tradition of Christian education in our own land. It is the position which affords the greater opportunity for the real Christianization of the life of foreign lands.

With all that has been said in sympathy with industrial and lower education as having relation, on the one hand to the necessities of the peoples of India and, on the other, to the development of the land, we ought not to lose sight of the opposite side of the case. It is indeed to be conceded that one effect of a widely disseminated higher education has been the raising up of a far greater number of men academically trained than can at present find work commensurate with their attainments. The Indian has apparently an almost instinctive desire to serve the government. There are still few employments apart from the service of the government to which the educated Indian can turn. There has thus come into being in India what has been called an educational proletariat. Out of this circle many of the disturbers of the peace in India come. There is an educational proletariat in Russia. There also it is a menace to society. From it are recruited in a measure the ranks of the revolutionists. Out of it emerge occasionally those whose ideas and spirit are the hope of the future. Out of it come also some whose fanaticisms jeopardize the very hopes they cherish. Many of the revolutionists in India are disappointed university men. They affect the temper of the universities themselves. They are the malcontents and enemies of the existing order which every such situation produces. They are far more dangerous than they would be if they had not been educated. Yet, when all is said, it has been by the aid of the old higher education which first the state, or rather the Company, and then the missions, were eager to establish, that an Indian leadership

of the Indian peoples under British rule has been raised up. This competent and honourable Indian leadership has been manifest in many things which make for the best life of India. The educational institutions founded early in the nineteenth and even late in the eighteenth century looked to the education of leaders. The pioneers founded colleges which looked forward to becoming universities. They let schools follow afterward. We observed a like fact in Japan and China. A more conspicuous example still is the educational work of American Protestants in the Ottoman Empire, a work which has had unparalleled significance for the transformation of that Empire. They all began at the top, that is, with the colleges. The Puritan Fathers also began with Harvard College and let the general school system of the colony follow afterward. Apparently it is only the nineteenth century instinct which would lead us to reverse the process and to say that effort should have begun with the industrial schools. It should then have advanced to primary and secondary schools and only at last have arrived at the college and university.

Whatever logic there may be in this instinct the historical order has been the reverse. The pioneers of whom we are speaking had this instinct of leadership, and perhaps if there had been no leaders such as the colleges raised up there would have been no state to need primary schools and industries. It is clear concerning the Ottoman Empire that had there been no leaders such as Robert College and the Syrian Protestant College raised up, there would have been no modern Turkey which now is asking for primary schools and industries. Similarly, had there been no Indian leaders such as the colleges and universities have bred there would have been indeed a government in India, but not the one which Indians now in large part ably administer for themselves. It is the old higher education which has fitted not a few native princes to rule under the British crown with a freedom and responsibility which the crown has been only too glad to accord to them. It is the old higher education which has given to editorial work many men who are well fitted, through the Anglo-Indian and vernacular press, to shape public sentiment and whose

labours we forget when we think only of the incendiary press. It is the old higher education which has filled the ranks of the real reformers, labouring for the amelioration of every aspect of the life of these peoples, whom also we are prone to forget when we think of the mere agitators. It is the old higher education which has brought about that which one may meet everywhere in India, gentlemen who are the peers of men of highest European culture. One thinks of the background of these men. We recall that we are not here in the area in which there is but slight trace of an older culture. We remind ourselves of the rich Sanskrit inheritance and of the achievements of the Indian peoples, notably in philosophy and jurisprudence. We realize the strong dislike of European civilization which is found practically everywhere in the East. We own that India is more oriental than any other eastern land. Then we begin to realize the magnitude of that which has been accomplished. So ordered a participation in the government on the part of a subject people has had no parallel, so far as we know, under any foreign rule which the world has seen. Such an extension of the subtle and interior benefits of one civilization for free participation on the part of the children of another, seeks its like. Such a mediation as these men to whom we refer accomplish by their labours and constitute in their very presence, between two worlds of culture to both of which they mean to be perfectly loyal, is of quite incomparable worth, and that both to India and to Europe. It is the prophecy of that which we may hope some day to see in all the other nations of the earth as well.

If in the matter of the lower and popular education the missions were in the field before the government, in the provision for the higher education the initiative was with the state, or rather with the Company, which in such curious fashion shared certain of the functions of a state. The inauguration of this education was due to some of the functionaries of the Company of whom we have not always spoken in high commendation. It was Warren Hastings who in 1782 founded the College at Calcutta and for some years maintained it at his own expense. His purpose was described by Sir John Strachey in these words: "He desired

to educate the Mohammedan population of Bengal in order that they together with the Hindus may qualify themselves for the state service, more especially in jurisprudence." It was Lord Wellesley who appointed to the same Calcutta College Carey, "the consecrated cobbler," who meantime had become a distinguished Sanskrit scholar. It was in 1791 that the College at Benares was founded "primarily for the study of the law, the literature and the religion of the Hindus, that these might render skilled assistance in legal matters to the European judges." Medical schools were instituted by Lord William Bentinck in 1835. Amidst all the confusion of the Sepoy mutiny three universities were founded, namely: Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and a resolution was taken to proceed in the largest way with public education. It may be that the optimistic views advanced by the Anglo-Indian School Commission in 1883 have proved in part illusory. It may be that the last report of the Commission of Investigation appointed by Lord Curzon is on the whole too discouraging. Asia is not Europe. Calcutta is not Oxford or the University of Edinburgh. It is certainly true that the great endeavours which England has made for education in India are a two-edged sword. Dangerous consequences of the freedom and enlightenment which England has accorded are just now much talked of although tendencies which show the loyalty of India to England are of even greater significance. Even were not this last statement true, what could England do? How could she be conceived to have acted otherwise? Certainly that is interesting testimony which is offered by Vambery, a Hungarian Jew, distinctly predisposed against any religious influence whatsoever of Occident upon Orient. He has declared concerning the generation which has arisen in India under the present system of education, that, "if not in an intellectual, yet at all events in a moral sense it is favourably distinguished from all its predecessors." "It is this moral side of the neo-Hindu," he continues, "which promises so much. This moral stability is a feature not often seen among western Asiatics brought up in contact with European civilization. It has seldom shown itself among Turks, Arabs or Persians. It is the absence of moral

principle which has shipwrecked all attempts at civilization in the western Islamic world."

Strongly conservative Orientals and also some superficial observers among Europeans have declared that with the entrance of our culture the primitive virtues of the Asiatic have been destroyed. They allege that the Oriental while he was yet untouched was more faithful, more honest and responsible than the Asiatic who has been educated upon European principles. It is only too easy in any eastern land to find illustrations which support this judgment. Of the man educated according to western standards who meantime has lost all hold upon the social, moral and religious maxims which guided his ancestors, this may be true. The decline of one set of ideals without the substitution of another may well be expected to have this effect. A similar effect is possible and even common with the half-educated in our own land. It happens to those who pass sharply from one moral climate to another. This is not true however of those Asiatics in whose case the intellectual and spiritual development takes place upon a solid basis and upon any greater scale. Partial education is often the fate of Orientals who have visited European countries. They have no entrée to those circles in which a deeper insight would have been given them. They return alienated from their own peoples, full of pretentiousness and at the same time victims of misapprehension concerning Europe or America. It is no contradiction if the very next phase of their development is that they join the ranks of the bitterest enemies of European influence. They are renegades from one home without having been adopted into another. Of the diligent and thorough however, of the earnest-minded and the just, of those who love their own country well enough to wish to see all that is best in the life of other countries placed at its disposal, the case is widely different. The integrity of Indian judges is famous. Their ruling by code and precedent and without fear or favour is well known. Yet these are traits alien to the oriental mind, if all that we know of oriental history does not mislead. Energy and initiative and unflagging patriotism, these are traits not always found among Asiatics. They are traits which in India become

more and more characteristic under the conditions which the stable and fundamentally just rule of Great Britain has imposed.

There has been a great awakening of the sentiment of humanity and of pity for the poor and oppressed, which are in striking contrast to the old anti-social sentiments which caste hallowed. This is full of promise for the future. There has come an increasing sense of shame at the remembrance of many cruel things which in the past have been done in India in the name of religion, and which many Indians feel with humiliation to be identified in western minds with Hinduism. The industries of India must some day show in high relief the same qualities of the Hindu which are now revealed in his government and in his philanthropies. In the era of transition everything is being done to safeguard, if possible, the old domestic arts and crafts. In the end it may be that these must suffer if not be destroyed. The domestic industries have been largely destroyed in England and in Switzerland and Italy. They are being destroyed in Syria and Asia Minor. The factory chimneys in the suburbs of Bombay or of Damascus predict a change from which India and Syria can no more escape than have Osaka or Hankow. The Hindu who, a little more than a generation ago, lived in strictest seclusion, who starved if a livelihood did not come to him in his seclusion, now commits himself to the "black water." He goes in search of work all over the world, he sends back money to his native land, he returns to spend what he has earned. Again, he takes his family with him and looks to permanence in his new abode. He has seen other men and races. He has received a material supplementing of his education or even an appreciable substitute for an education, in that which he has seen. There are Indian merchants in every greater city in Europe, America or Australia. There are Indian labourers in Mauritius and Jamaica, in Demerara and Trinidad, in Columbia and Fiji, in the Straits Settlements and Surinam, in Natal and East Africa. In spite of all this, or because of it, there has come also an actual resuscitation of the racial feeling for India, an awakening and universalizing of Indian sentiment, an intensification of Indian self-con-

sciousness, an enlargement of national hope, ambition and resolve. Rather, perhaps, we should say that there has come the creation of a national self-consciousness and loyalty which never before existed.

Closely related to the matter of education is that of the influence of the press. In many of the centres of the oriental world, especially in the Ottoman Empire, the first printing presses were set up by missionary societies and in conjunction with the work of the missionary colleges. They were thus established because even the work of the college itself could not be carried beyond its rudimentary step without the press. They were set up because by the press the influence of the college could be carried far beyond its own walls. They were thus established because those who were interested primarily in the translation of the Bible and then in the production of vernacular literature were likely to be connected with the colleges. Even where, as in India, printing establishments were set up in the same period at the instance of the government, the men who were connected with education were entrusted with the work of publication as well. The missions and the presses worked hand in hand. In Japan the press was from the first an independent factor in the educational movement and one of varied influence. It was never in any great degree under the influence of foreigners. In China also the example set of the political and commercial and social uses of the press in the foreign communities in the old treaty ports was quickly followed by the Chinese themselves. The missions however and Christian literature societies had also developed a great activity. As the influence of the press extended and the aspects of its work were multiplied it became an independent factor, touching every phase of life in the East just as it does in the West. The general influence of the press in the transformation of the East has been hardly less than that of the educational movement or of the missions.

The present civilization and culture of the West cannot be conceived without books and periodicals and newspapers and the manifold influences which depend upon the printed page. As little can the changes which have taken place in the East be thought of apart from this influence. Twelve

years ago one might have held in his hand at Peking a copy of the tiny yellow-covered *Imperial Gazette*. He could scarcely do so without a curious sensation. He was told that items of official announcement from the court had been printed from block type and issued practically in this same form centuries before the so-called discovery of printing in Europe and the epoch-making application of that discovery at Venice and in Germany. This was the ancestor of all the newspapers. Yet there were no other newspapers in China until less than two generations ago. England was still in the Dark Ages and America was undiscovered when the *Peking Gazette* is alleged to have been first published. Europe received a vast impulse through the invention of printing. The presses at Nürnberg and Rome and Paris created for the learned a new universe as compared with that in which men had copied rare and jealously-guarded manuscripts on costly materials by the slow labour of the hand. Printing was discovered in Europe only a few years before the fall of Constantinople and the voyages of the Portuguese navigators in the East and of the Spaniards with Columbus to the West. Yet until the middle of the eighteenth century the spread of the benefits of that discovery to the common people even in Europe was relatively slow. The enormous modern expansion of the influence of the press has taken place since the middle of the nineteenth century. The invention of the telegraph to gather news, of railways to distribute printed product, the cheapening of paper, the great proportionate increase of the numbers of those who can read, the unexampled growth of publishers' business in all portions of the earth, these factors have all had to do with the result. They have had their full significance in the West in the life-time of men now living. They have entered into the life of the East practically at the same time that they have so largely modified life in the West. In other words, that which Europe has been fifteen generations in developing has been given in an instant to the Orient. The distance from Gutenberg's Bible or the grand folios of the Aldine presses to the sensational newspaper, Europe travelled in four hundred years. India has travelled a similar distance in a generation and a half, Japan in a genera-

tion. In Turkey also the Bible was the first book printed but the yellow journal has arrived.

Goethe once said, "It is humiliating to think what time we waste in the reading of mere newspapers and periodicals, literature of the most ephemeral worth, even if we can truly assign to it any worth whatsoever." If the sage in little Weimar could so speak at the beginning of the nineteenth century, what would he say in New York at the beginning of the twentieth? There was a certain compensation in the days of few and expensive books. It was that most books which got themselves printed had worth and few people knew how to read at all except those that cared to read that which had worth. One sometimes thinks that the possibility of culture has been brought to the doors of the average man through the vast organization which we possess for the dissemination of the printed page, only to be taken away from him again by the worthlessness of most of the pages which are disseminated. We were told in the old days touching tales of the reverence of the Chinese even for the torn fragments of a letter or a printed book. Servants cherished scraps from their master's waste basket as if wisdom might exhale. One foresees that this reverence, along with certain others, will wane in new China. Yet when all is said, it remains that the modern world is inconceivable without an interchange of thought and the formation of opinion which takes place, not more on the basis of that which we read than in spite of much of our reading. The education which takes place in schools is impossible without books. The education which begins after one leaves school and continues for the rest of life has almost exclusively books for its masters, its fellow-students and its friends. With all of the loss and despite problematical aspects of the matter the gain has been immeasurable. The world movement of the nineteenth century brought, among other things, the press from the West to the East. The press continues the world movement in the East. The press in a large measure brings the reaction from the East to the West. The assimilation which is taking place between East and West is inconceivable without the press.

When the British East India Company first entered upon

a policy of education in India, one of its first steps was the establishment of the press. The purpose was the dissemination of translations of standard European works. It was also the publication of writings of Indian authors whether in English or in the vernacular. If Hindus and Mohammedans were to be admitted to responsibility in public affairs they must be educated for their work. The Company patronized presses independently established as business ventures. Moreover Carey's missionary work at Serampore was in no small part the work of publication. The issuing of translations of the Bible had been the end primarily in view, but in the fostering of the mission press all of Carey's love of learning and of his practical qualities made themselves felt. His ultimate appointment to the professorship of Sanskrit in Fort William College brought these phases of his work and that of the government into happy co-operation. For now fifty years several of the great British publishing houses have had branches in India. Yet by far the largest part of the owners of publishing business in India are Indians. There is scarcely anything which more surely attracts the attention of a traveller in India than the demand for literature of every sort from the most serious to the most ephemeral. The provision for the meeting of this demand meets him at every turn. The stranger is apt to think concerning the first shop which he has chanced upon, that he has not passed beyond the area of the trade which ministers to the foreigners in the cantonments. He thinks he must go further to see the Indian trade for Indians. The book bazaar upon which he has happened is however almost surely kept by a Hindu. Its trade is among Hindus, a large part of the books written in English which he sees upon the shelves were written by Hindus. They discuss Indian topics or represent the contribution of Indians to the literature of the world. The maturer discussion of a certain range of topics is almost invariably in English. This is in order that it may reach Indians themselves. English is the only common language of the various racial elements. Yet the other side also is true. Culture in India is seeking to become democratic. To become democratic it must speak in the vernacular. It can reach but the few in English.

It must reach the masses in their mother tongue. There is therefore also in recent years a vast output of the Indian presses in the vernaculars. The works now being translated into the native languages are no longer merely Shakespeare and Milton, or even Mill and Spencer. They are the new additions to the literature of economics, of socialism and even of feminism. They are works both of scientific and of popular form. Books on these and similar topics are increasingly produced by Indian authors in the vernaculars. Then there is poetry, the lyric of the people and prose for agitation among the people. This agitation often hides itself in the vernaculars. If one would really know what is going on in India he has need at all events to have friends who know many more languages than one.

A generation ago certain portions of the collection known as "Sacred Books of the East" gave the western world a notion, in some sense at first hand, of the Indian religions. The Harvard Oriental Series has worked to the same effect. European scholars have wrought to bring to the West a better understanding of eastern faiths. Now however men are writing in India books of strictly scientific character, sympathetic and discerning treatments of one and another of these faiths by men who devoutly profess these faiths. It is upon such treatment of Asiatic religions, so to say from within, that a deeper understanding of these religions waits. There are histories of the various races, there are works on Indian art and archæology, on customs and castes and sects, all of them by Indians, which vastly enrich our knowledge. In them is information which no European could have given but which, on the other hand, no Asiatic would have ever given save under an impulse and with a training in method which only European learning has inspired. Within a few years the English-speaking world has been stirred by the lyric of Rabindra Nath Tagore. An acknowledged place in English literature is thus accorded to an Indian of high caste.

Religious movements in India have kept pace with the others in their increasing use of the agency of the press. The Christian movement was first in the field in this regard but the reforming movements in Brahmanism all have their

organs. In the missions there has been a constant production of literature, both for the edification of those who have already embraced Christianity and for purposes of propaganda among those who have not. The educated in the churches can read English, but for the grounding of the Christian movement in the real sentiment of the people, which is the only hope of perpetuity, a vernacular literature is everywhere absolutely requisite. If moreover this literature can be, as it ought to be, of genuine literary quality, it will deepen the Indian Christian's love for his own language and his own land. It is evident however that this literature will have to be produced in large measure by the Indians themselves. For the literature of controversy, for the great debate which is now going on among the religious, English is the medium naturally employed. Christianity presents itself alongside of western science and philosophy in their invasion of India. The natural medium of communication concerning all three is as yet the English tongue. For apologetic among the people and still more for devotional utterance the case is the reverse. Indian propagandists realize this fact. The Somajs all have English organs but they have also papers and periodicals in the popular speech. Mr Farquhar declares that whether in the form of apologetic or in that of the utterance of its own pure joy and spontaneous power, the Christian truth which has sunk into Indian hearts will, if we may learn anything from the analogy of the past, break forth into literary expression in the vernacular. This has always been the history of religious revival in India.

If one asks concerning the literary movement in Japan during the Meiji era, we are met by the spectacle of an even swifter development than that which we have seen in the case of India. There was of course a great treasure of literature from the earlier period, very dear to the Japanese, which even now is only slowly coming to the knowledge of the outside world. There was a literary revival after the end of the Kamakura period when, as in the so-called Dark Ages of Europe, learning was almost a monopoly of the monks. Classic discussions of Shinto and of Japanese Buddhism belong to this period. Much of this material is only now finding its way into print. It is however exerting

great influence. The cultivation of the feeling for this national literature is a phase of the return to things Japanese which everywhere makes itself felt. At the opening of the Meiji era however there was an influx of western ideas. For fifteen years after 1867 literary men were occupied largely with the task of translating European works and explaining European ways. It was felt to be the great duty of the hour to endeavour to secure the safety of the nation by the full examination and wise use of all discoverable elements which had contributed to the strength of foreign states. One might fairly speak of a European invasion of Japan at this time in literary ways and by the eager aid of the Japanese themselves. In this work of bringing to the knowledge of the nation medicine and all the natural sciences, geography and law and history, books of English origin had a paramount place. Toyama was a graduate of Michigan University, Kikuchi of the English Cambridge. The former laid the foundations of western education in Tokio, the latter became the head of the University at Kyoto. Fukuzawa recorded in his "Condition of Western Countries" his frank impressions of Europe and America. His school, a newspaper which he founded, with his published lectures and addresses, wielded great influence. Neesima stood somewhat apart from the others. Their debt to the West was largely intellectual, his was religious as well. He had imbibed ardent Congregationalism in New England. His relation to the Doshisha has been spoken of. He exercised great literary influence too. Darwin and Spencer were from the first entrenched in Tokio University. Evolution was just the creed for Japan in that day. The period of German literary and scientific influence came later and had the powerful support of Count Ito. He believed that German ideals were more in harmony with the oligarchic spirit and the semi-divine monarchy of Japan. Okuma in his political writings had stood always upon the English side. About 1885 it may be said that the period of absorption ended and that of creation, which was also that of the counter-movement, began. Now the old-fashioned romance of chivalry was superseded by modern novels which had the definite aim of portraying contemporary Japanese life in its

essential truth. The poetry of the period was full of glowing patriotism. Men turned to the study of social problems. About the end of the nineties Nietsche began to exert great influence upon the intellectuals. Philosophy took a direction of which the government grew suspicious. It was alleged that insubordination was inculcated. Prosecutions, fines, and the suppression of journals followed. What a picture this is of the turbulent life of Japan in the Meiji era. In literature, also, the Japanese were expressing themselves, yet one hears always the overtones of that which the whole human race had been striving to express. The first newspaper of which there is record appeared in 1861. It did not survive the first copy. The second came in 1864 and lasted six months, when the editors went, one to China and the other to America. Even now the Japanese censorship of the press is vigorous. In 1912 there were twenty-five hundred registered newspapers and periodicals of all sorts in Japan.

The Christian movement in Japan had from the earliest days a share in the work of the press. There is no country in which it is more important that that work should be continued. The civilization of the West has profoundly influenced Japan, but Christianity is practically unknown to large masses of the people. It is known and rejected by a large majority of educated men. These last profess agnosticism as do many in the West, or else they profess Buddhism, which for many means a rather vague pantheistic philosophy. Count Okuma, the present Prime Minister of the Realm, recently wrote in a very striking article: "We Japanese have been for the last generation so absorbed in the struggle for existence both individual and national that we have hardly had time to attend to the interests of the higher life. We have attempted to master centuries of western development in a few decades. Yet although we have paid but little attention to the problem of religion we have not been uninfluenced by religious ideals. For example, although Christianity enrols in Japan less than two hundred thousand believers, yet the indirect influence of Christianity has been poured into every realm of Japanese life. It has been borne to us on all the currents of western civilization. Christianity has affected us not

alone in superficial ways, as in the legal observance of Sunday, but also in our ideals concerning political institutions, as to the family and with reference to the status of women. It is an inspiring thought that the true religious ideals and experiences of all races and peoples are bound to progress and to form in time one noble and comprehensive whole. The good and the true will persist. The ephemeral, the non-essential and the false will be left behind. The races are at bottom one, the truth is one. The fact and power of religion are admitted by all, only the interpretation and application of that power are in dispute."

In Japan the explication and propaganda of Christianity is apparently to be more and more carried on by the aid of the press. The thoroughgoing discussion of the contrasts between Christianity and Buddhism and Shinto and Confucianism can never be carried on in any other way. Not merely is there the flood of newspapers and periodicals and books of which we have spoken, continually poured from the press, the most of it being either neutral to Christianity or positively hostile, Japan is moreover in immediate possession of practically all the literature produced in the West which is hostile to Christianity. The government has made the effort to found morality upon patriotism and imperial apotheosis. The result has been increasingly disquieting to those in positions of responsibility. Among the conspicuous signs of this fact was the so-called Conference of the Religions held in February 1912. Japan's problems, moral and religious, do not differ in principle from our own. They do not differ from those of any nation which enters unreservedly into the modern cosmopolitan civilization, where life is characterized by increased spiritual perplexity and moral peril. Faiths inherited from the past have been lost and nothing has come to take their place. This means that life is becoming worthless, that existence is at bottom irrational and non-moral. Yet without values for human life the foundations of society are destroyed. At this level it does no good to seek social welfare, for the personality which is both the source and the issue of that welfare has been destroyed. However valuable English and German works may be for the land in which they are produced, none of

these fully meet the situation in Japan. No apologetic of occidental origin is sufficient for the case. The most important thing is to stimulate the production of books by the Japanese themselves which shall adequately present the interpretation of Christianity in the modern world. This effort has scarcely begun.

We cannot close this paragraph touching literature and the press, with the relation of these to civilization and Christianization, without allusion to one phase of the work which is not national, but international, not racial but universal and not general but most specifically religious. It has to do, not with many books, but primarily with one book alone. It is older than any of the literary movements in Eastern lands which we have been describing. It binds all Christians and all aspects of their service rendered to non-Christian peoples together in a manner which perhaps few even of the best informed have realized. We refer to the work of Bible translation and publication and circulation. We can, because of limits of space, allude to but one of the many societies which have been engaged in this work. We must treat the contribution of the British and Foreign Bible Society as typical in this relation, although there are other societies like the Scottish and American which have done only less amazing work.

In the same early years of the nineteenth century which saw the rise of the great missionary societies there came into being another society which was also interdenominational in its origin and world-wide in its aim. Impressed with the significance of the Scriptures for the life of men and nations, friends of the work of evangelization both at home and in foreign lands, banded themselves together to print and circulate the Bible, either in whole or in its parts, in every language and in every portion of the world. Not a few of the same names occur in the lists of the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society and of the various societies for the prosecution of foreign missionary work and of many forms of philanthropic endeavour which were founded about the same time. For all reasons they decided to make it a principle to publish the Scriptures without note or comment. The venture met with ready and hearty

response. The Society has always been most generously supported. It has been admirably managed as a great business organization. It has had to seek men who could translate the Bible into new tongues as the need in the ever-expanding fields of mission work arose. It had to provide for the printing, binding and distributing of the books when these were prepared and for their circulation at the lowest price possible or gratis, if need be, when the books reached the land for which they were destined. Few persons have any idea of the magnitude of its transactions. The Society observed the one hundredth anniversary of its founding in 1911. It celebrated the occasion by the publication of a history of its transactions and a catalogue of its issues. The catalogue contains 1750 pages of closely-printed bibliography. Some sixty or seventy items catalogued are versions in languages now obsolete. Setting these aside, we find here described editions of the whole Bible, or of parts of it, in more than five hundred distinct languages and dialects. Yet we are told that there are still more than one thousand dialects spoken among men in which there is not yet even one printed Gospel. Many of these languages will become obsolete in time as will also many of those languages into which translations have already been made. There is no other destiny before the North American Indian languages or those of the South Sea Island populations or of the minor tribes of Africa. The great languages, as for example Zulu and Kaffir in Africa, will take the place of these latter as the circulation of the tribes increases even in the heart of the continent from year to year. These Bibles will then remain our sole source of knowledge of languages which some day will have completely disappeared. The Society has never abandoned its principle that where men speak a language they shall have the Bible in that language. In many scores of cases languages have been reduced to writing by missionaries in order that the Bible might be rendered into them. There was no book before the Bible in these tongues and in some cases there has been no book since. The Bible is their only printed book. For the sake of that book their language, as written language, exists. Of the difficulties which beset the work it is hard to form an idea.

The difficulty of rendering narratives or parables touching Palestine into the tongue of Esquimaux, for whom there was scarcely one plant or animal on the whole face of nature which was as it existed for the Jew in his own land, suggests itself. Again there is the difficulty of rendering the abstract conceptions of Paul into the language of Fijis or Maoris. The making of a written language, when as yet no man can read it, the printing of a book in that language in order that a few men who speak it may learn to read it, the building up of the whole life of a people about that one book, the discovery, almost one might say the creating, of the needs of savage souls and then meeting those needs out of this one book, describe it as you may, it has been a wonderful process, not less so for the fact that the vast majority of mankind has never so much as known that it was going on.

There are scores of versions in the languages of the rudest peoples of the earth. There also are versions into elaborate literary idioms read by the learned alone. Nearly fifty titles stand under the designation "Zulu." Over one hundred are in Sanskrit, including some in which Hebrew poetry is rendered into classical Indian verse. There are seventy pages of titles in Chinese. Yet also the Gospel is provided for the Chippeway Indians, a tribe once great but which has now barely five hundred souls. The Esquimaux have had the Gospel for two hundred years in their own tongue, thanks to a Dane. Work of this sort which the Moravians could not carry on, the Bible Society took over. The Society will publish at this moment any translation for any people, if only the translation is judged by competent persons to be creditable and the people for whom it is desired are in need. The missionary who gives years or a life-time to the language of his little neighbourhood need never fear that he will find no publisher. Wild hill tribes of India like the Todas, who number less than a thousand souls, can read the word which the Brahman studies in Sanskrit. When we remember that all of these versions arose out of a demand and then enlarged and satisfied that demand, when we realize that the books had often at first to be given away in order that men might learn to wish to buy them, when we realize that these are not books

for curiosity, but for use in the highest life of man, we have an evidence of faith and conscientiousness for which it would be hard to find a parallel. Professor Hope Moulton has said: "As a mere chronicle of intellectual achievement this catalogue of the British and Foreign Bible Society is worthy to stand by the side of the transactions of any learned society in Europe." There are relatively few names of authors or translators in the crowded pages of these bulky volumes of which even enthusiasts for philology, ethnology or, for that matter, even for missions ever heard. Yet minds truly kin to those which have achieved justly famous triumphs have here been dedicated in obscurity to a task pre-eminently worthy of their powers. Moulton cites one example which may serve for all: "The record concerning the Tonga Islands contains in its earliest entry the name of Thomas Adams, Wesleyan Missionary, who was among the pioneers of that work. The entry is suggestive to those who know that he was the brother of John Couch Adams, the astronomer, whose name is often coupled with that of Newton and Leverier. The astronomer's achievement will be remembered to all time. His brother stands as the representative of a great company of men who have cut themselves off from any hope of fame. They have lived in willing exile from their homes and friends. They have died without any taste of the world's rewards, content if they could but take the humblest part in the work of bringing an everlasting Gospel to the lowest of mankind."

One of the authors of the catalogue inaugurated an inquiry as to the number of translations in which other books besides the Bible have appeared. The research has never really been carried out. Its results would assuredly be most interesting. It seems that the Iliad is known to have been published in over twenty of the leading languages of Europe. The Shakespeare Memorial Library at Birmingham gives evidence that the master poet may be read in whole or in part in twenty-seven languages. The British Museum catalogue enumerates forty different versions of the Imitation of Christ. Books of Count Tolstoi are said to appear in forty-seven different languages. The Religious Tract Society declares that Bunyan's "Pilgrims' Progress" has

appeared in one hundred different translations. In other words, so far as this inquiry goes, the only book which appears in more than one-tenth as many versions as the Bible is itself close kin to the Bible. It has almost been made out of the Bible and has undoubtedly been largely translated by missionaries for the edification of the same clientele for which they translated the Bible. Surely this is a most impressive fact. Finally even these comparisons with the circulation of other books remain misleading. The contrast is not that with the number of languages in which the masterpieces of the world's literature may now be read. The contrast is in respect of the results which have followed from their reading. We know the elevating and refining influence of good literature, the stimulus and illumination of science, of history and criticism or of any other form of thought. It would be foolish to belittle that which these have done for the elevation of mankind. The more heartily we speak of their praise however the more astounding will appear the contrast of the work done by the pages of the book which the Bible Societies have sent forth. Under our own eyes a single sentence from these pages has been sufficient to work a change by which the impure have been restored to purity, the dissipated to sobriety, the unstable have become courageous and responsible, the utterly selfish full of generous consecration. What we know here at home has been multiplied a thousandfold abroad. No one who has any imagination can fail to realize that nearly any edition on which, in this catalogue, his eye may fall has human documents for its commentary. We read only the entry of the date, size, contents and the name of the missionary who produced it. What about the men for whom it was produced? We are fairly safe in assuming that there is not one of these works which has not behind it the record of lives transformed through its instrumentality. When one thinks of these things a book which, when it was opened, seemed but a bare and rather curious catalogue becomes, upon reflection, a source of wonder and of admiration and of boundless gratitude. If we are thinking of the forces which have made for the expansion of Christendom and the naturalization of Christianity in the Orient in the nineteenth

century, here is one of primary consequence. If we are thinking of the influence of literature and the relation of the press to the movement which we are discussing we are disposed to think that this is the very greatest factor of them all.

At the close of these paragraphs touching education and the press, we turn to certain considerations pertaining specifically to women. Much that has been said in the lectures of the effect of the contacts of West and East has related to society as a whole. It has affected men and women together. Western conquest wrought general changes in the Orient. Reference to these changes called for no specific word touching their influence upon women. Without doubt, the women received the least of any good effect of these changes. They suffered most from any evil effects. That was however because of their status in their own lands before these changes came. Neither western conquest nor trade did anything to change that status. Slavery, war and famine had always had worse consequences for women than for men. Even in peace and prosperity their lot was that of beings inferior to men. On the other hand western education, with its joint agencies of school and press, has directly endeavoured to change the status of women. The western religion, whose first apostle to the nations had said that in Christ was neither male nor female, had directly endeavoured to change the status of women. It had at least announced the ideal of the equality of men and women. To be sure, the effect of this announcement has been prejudiced and the influence of this endeavour hampered by the fact that the status of women, even in the most favoured nations of Christendom, still left so much to be desired. In parts at least of the Occident there are hardly any reforms more imperiously demanded than those touching the position of women, although here also we meet the familiar fact that the parts in which these reforms are most imperiously demanded are not those in which they are most imperatively needed. Even in the West movements for women's education are very modern movements. In Christendom itself the Master's spirit and the apostle's maxim have been none too well taken to heart. We deserve

reproach. Yet, when we are not in the mood of wilful exaggeration, it can hardly be denied that the status of women in practically any western nation is higher than among any of the oriental peoples. The oriental man has his own point of view. His women often share that point of view. Yet surely there are absolute values even in such a discussion as this. The possibility of the development of the individuality of the women is such a value. This is the real criterion. Judged by this criterion the West has still abundant room for progress. Yet, on the whole, it has advanced far beyond the East. Even the possibility of the development of the individuality of the woman is however not the whole question. The development of the personality of the woman stands in inviolable relation to the development of the race as a whole. It stands in a closer relation to this development than does the individuality of man. In one way of looking at it this is an additional reason on the side of the highest realization of woman's personality. On the other hand with women, no less than with men, the untrammelled pursuit of this self-realization on the part of the individual, shuts our eyes to our obligations. No one can reflect upon the higher education and the larger liberty of man without seeing that this is a fact. It is even more obviously a fact in respect of the training and enfranchisement of women.

There is however nothing which strikes the western man in the East more forcibly than do the dreadful disadvantages of women. There is nothing which more impresses the Oriental as he travels in the West than the contrast in the position of women. It is easy for him to discover our foibles and to lay his finger upon great wrongs. Yet there is nothing which the Oriental who really knows the West and has seen something of its best home life, more readily concedes to be necessary for his nation than the amelioration of the condition of its women. Western education and the Christian religion cannot influence eastern society in any larger way without raising the question of women. This is only the more true because the West itself is at the present moment so much agitated with this question. The confidence with which many among us spoke until a

few years ago of the condition of women in England and America is considerably impaired. If any of us felt that in this regard the goal of human progress had been reached that complacence has suffered a rude shock. We are painfully conscious that both education and religion among us have failed to do what needs to be done for women. One of these ideals, that of a higher education for women, may be said to have dawned upon us only a century ago. Its realization was seriously attempted less than half a century ago. The equality of women wage earners in respect of wage, even when their work is fully as good as that of men, is a thing which not even the most enlightened and progressive of modern states as yet knows how to achieve. The economic aspect of the question is new and extremely difficult. We have moods in which we almost feel that we ought to apologize to the Oriental for our smug assumption of the superiority of the western world at this particular point. At all events we have here a new illustration of the fact which we have before observed, that the greatest of modern problems no longer have nationality. They are problems for the whole world at once. They are problems in which provincialism disappears and it is not given to any race to play the pharisee. Evils which beset western women, particularly of certain strata of society, are very great. They are so great as to call out the sympathy of the women of the East, when these come to know about them. Yet a widening of our horizon enables us to see that they are not the only evils. There is no one remedy for all evils. Even the women's movement would gain a sense of proportion from seeing itself as a whole.

"You know," said an old Mohammedan Sheikh, as he somewhat timorously contemplated the prospect of education for his daughter—"You know we Moslems do not care to have our daughters stay very long at school." "Oh, but that is all past," broke in a young Moslem Bachelor of Arts who had ventured within the same precincts to place his child in the same school. "Our country can never be great until our own women are properly educated." This episode, related by Miss Selincourt, is characteristic. With the proclamation of the Constitution in Turkey in August, 1908,

hundreds of women are said to have thrown off their veils and poured into the streets, joining with the men in the general shout for liberty. The action was unpremeditated. It was more striking than those who do not know Turkey can imagine. It was sharply curbed. The leaders of the revolution knew that they were bound to give offence to Moslem sentiment at many points. They were anxious not to multiply occasions of offence. Precisely as Christians were forbidden to have a share in the liberation lest the issues should be confused, so women were by the liberators forced back into their seclusion. Yet no one can be in Turkey without realizing that beneath the surface the ferment continues. Social reforms also will have their day. It is reported that in a bazaar recently held in Constantinople for patriotic purposes women lifted their veils, permitting those with whom they joined in the enthusiasm for the new ideas to see their faces. On this occasion a part, at least, of the social world applauded that which had been done. Many women are seen unveiled upon the street. Women of the highest class meet foreigners unveiled.

In China schools for girls have been opened in every larger city. They are often upon private initiative but the government scheme has place also for the education of women. The eagerness of the people themselves to imitate that which a few years ago only the missions were doing is significant. The position of women has always been relatively a high one. The older matrons have exerted great power in the wide family circles. There are tales of beloved daughters receiving tuition in their homes, whose learning was like that of a mandarin, who have been to their fathers and brothers a sort of family oracle. Chinese popular fables, the long narratives which the women spin to one another as they work, turn often upon the question, "What can an adoring father do with his only child, a daughter?" In this modern education of women however which takes place outside the home, the lack of teachers makes itself felt. Women teachers qualified in modern subjects are still very few. Much of the work done in the way of imparting western learning to women is lamentably crude. The missionary schools for girls have a high tradition.

They have had for a whole life-time the benediction of the service of such women as Miss Porter of Peking. They repeat in their own way the experience described in a previous paragraph concerning the mission schools for boys. Their graduates are everywhere desired. There is however something very touching about even the crudity of the wider movement for the education of women. Here also the liberating impulse has its bizarre manifestations. One hears of strange acts which even younger women allow themselves on the supposition that they are following western ways. The circumstances often add a tinge of pathos to the amusement which we naturally feel. So difficult is it for an eastern woman to sense the difference between things which a western woman does in full freedom and unconsciousness and other things which she never does. After all, it is the difference between two worlds which here makes itself felt. Reaction from oppression counts for something in both East and West. Far beyond that however, trifling episodes are signs which cannot be misread.

In Japan the family was and still is in a profound sense the unit of society. Loyalty to the family and through that to the state was felt to be the only duty of women. Romances of the feudal age are being used to point this moral for our own time. One gets the impression that in those golden days the woman as individual was very little considered. The Imperial Ordinance of 1889 marked the clear emergence of the purpose of the state to provide for the higher education of women on lines which in the West also we are still only seeking to work out. The Woman's College, now University, founded by Naruse in 1897, has had leading place in the movement. The secondary schools for girls have long since taken their place in the compulsory system of government education, and the school-girls, as they pass on the street in their attractive uniform, which is required by the state, suggest many things to one who knew the Japan of even half a generation ago. The most recent developments in the education of women came from the recognition of the fact, emphasized since the Russian war and, as well, by the industrial progress, that it may be necessary in far larger measure than ever before to fit women to earn their

own living. The employment of girls and women in the factories of Osaka raises the same questions with which we are only too familiar in Bradford and Nottingham and Lowell. One may hear in Tokio the same conversations in which men and women engage in the settlements in the crowded districts in New York. Both the higher education and that of the more vocational sort alluded to have as their premise the acknowledgment of the rights of women as individuals. They have as their aim to give women the opportunity to express themselves as individuals or at least to meet the stress of life as self-respecting individuals. Yet the ultimate question is everywhere the same. It is that of the relation of the development of the individual to society as a whole and to posterity. It is alleged that the older statesmen and public leaders in Japan still feel the single impulse which aimed at providing for women an education equal to that given to men and in some cases also identical with that given to men. With the present educational authorities there is not exactly an impulse to draw back. There is however a somewhat anxious recognition of the changes, even if only passing, which have come over the ideals of the sanctity of home life and the spirit of discipline and of subordination to the common weal which was certainly inculcated in the old Samurai households and which from them made itself felt in every home in the land.

In India, side by side with the growth of national ideas and aspirations, the question concerning women steadily gains in importance. In a district in Eastern Bengal of a population of eight hundred and fifty thousand where six years ago there were four schools for girls three hundred are now reported. There is no province in the land where there has not been progress. Women's clubs have been formed. Periodicals are issued. Philanthropic activities are undertaken by Indian women on behalf of India. It is reported that a society founded in the United Provinces in 1911 drew together Hindu and Moslem and Parsi women. Their national publication declares: "No nation can rise above the spirit of its women." The executives of the society are to be chosen from among women of the faiths named. Yet helpers in the work may also be selected from

amongst Anglo-Indians and Christians, "since these have had greater experience in work like that which we have undertaken." A Hindu woman speaking recently to an English audience said: "It is clear that the advance of Indian women must be based upon our Indian history and literature. We need, however, the sympathy and fellowship of the noble women of the world." There can be no dispute that Christian missionaries have played a larger part than any others in bringing about this awakening. During the greater part of the nineteenth century they stood almost alone in India in their championship of the woman's cause. The state education for a generation did nothing for women. Until quite recently no Indians founded and endowed private institutions for the education of women. It was practically only in Christian circles that women of education were to be found. Even now the great majority of leaders in the cause of women are Christians. Moreover, some of the most emancipated of the leaders in the feminist movement in India at least have been Christians. They are in the same relation to Christianity with some of the leaders in this movement at home. They have been elevated by the Christian emphasis upon women as individuals, but they revolt against the Christian emphasis upon the relation of women to society. Singularly enough they do this often in the name of socialism. Yet the realization of the need of an educated and emancipated womanhood in India is now by no means confined to those who have been directly influenced by Christianity. National sentiment now demands that which once only foreigners were interested in imparting. Zenana Missions are not yet very old, but their usefulness is already limited. Considerable portions of Indian society have no need of that which they specifically offer. Formerly teachers were obliged to go to houses to meet the women of the middle and upper classes. Now the girls' schools are so numerous as to have made teaching the great career for Indian women. Formerly there were no women physicians. Yet male physicians were never permitted to enter the quarters of the women. Now there are both physicians and nurses in large numbers among the women. Literary work of many sorts is open to women. Oppor-

tunity of public speech has opened to some women a career. There have been no more cultivated and charming advocates, whether of the cause of their own sex or of the Indian people at large, than certain women who for years have been well known in the West. In India, as in every country, women have always exercised an incalculable influence under the surface of life. That influence in India has been until recent times overwhelmingly conservative. It was long ago discovered in the Christian movement that in some measure the immobility of the men was due to the fact that the women in their homes had not been reached. With the advance of education and the increase of freedom of the women this influence also is becoming more progressive. It may in certain cases even become radical. There are Indian women who have taken a place in public life and in civil agitation. The direct participation of women in political life in England has long been in advance of that in any other country. It was far larger than that of women in America although the rights conceded to women were larger in America than in England.

If there is one field above others in the discussion of morals in which indignant protest makes itself felt, it is that of the double standard which obtains for the morals of men and women, especially in the matter of chastity. This double standard is still tolerated, it is sometimes even brutally asserted in the West. It is hardly too much to say that it has been perfectly openly acknowledged in large parts of the East. It is not so much as criticized. It has been assumed to be part of the order of the universe. The attitude is a survival of barbarism, but a barbarism which even in the centres of civilization will apparently be among the last to disappear. The distinction is defended by the assertion of the greater strength of the sexual instinct in men and the more immediate and obvious responsibility of women for the consequences of excess. As a matter of fact it is probably nothing but a survival of the right of the stronger and the failure to realize that the stronger have a greater obligation than the weaker. The moralization of life might almost be stated in terms of the recognition of this obligation. Polygamy and concubinage were once

largely prevalent in many parts of the Orient. They still obtain to some degree in certain classes of society. They are now however largely recognized among the Orientals themselves as representing an inferior idea of the family and working injury to all concerned. They are incompatible with the highest interests even of man, still more of women, and most of all children. The same economic pressure which in the East sometimes makes a woman a concubine, is one of the causes which in the West sometimes makes her a prostitute. There is less prostitution where there is more of polygamy and concubinage. It is not therewith made out that the evils offset one another. A society which refuses to acknowledge any ideal save that of the relation of one man and one woman bears more hardly upon the individual who is in defection from that ideal. It breeds up however more men and women who altogether refuse to admit any other ideal. The chastity of women in the East and in Africa may often have been stimulated by fear and enforced by violence. Unchastity has even been fostered by religion. Yet the apparent level of that chastity profoundly impresses a foreigner accustomed to certain frightful street scenes in any city of Europe or America. It arouses wonder when we think what large areas of interest in life have always been closed to women in the Orient, how they have been subjected to disabilities and denied all play of individuality, how they have been treated as slaves when they were unhappy and mere playthings when they were happy. It is sometimes asked: "What will be the effect of the greater freedom of women in the Orient?" No one can walk the streets of a manufacturing town in Japan without asking himself that question. But then, no one can walk the streets of a manufacturing town in America without asking himself the same question. At a certain level it will even turn out to be the freedom of some women to be immoral. That is a freedom which has been very much more limited in the East than in the West. In large parts of the East there have been almost no women who were not in some way directly responsible to some man. For other women, on the other hand, this freedom will mean liberation from conditions in which morality has been well nigh impossible.

The traditional relation of women to religion is undergoing in our day a startling change. One might get the impression from some of the churches in Christendom on any given Sunday, that the main appeal of religion was to women. Until very recently in any country in the Orient the situation would have been exactly the reverse. The attendants would have been almost exclusively men. Christianization is fairly well advanced where women in Eastern lands attend public worship on the same footing with men. Even then they rarely sit with the men. This matter of church attendance is however only the most superficial index of the matter. In the Orient, as in the Occident, there has always been an inner relation of religion to women, a relation to their idealism, to their community sense and again as a source of comfort and uplift to those who have been downtrodden and cut off from hope. Nietsche's interpretation of religion as an appropriate interest for slaves has indeed insufficient justification. It is not however without explanation in the manner in which religion has been frequently advertised. It is one of the glories of religion that it has been the help of those disheartened and oppressed. This is not however the only glory that it has. Superstitions have deceived mankind. The duty of submission has been set forth to the exclusion of the gospel of self-help and of high self-realization. If these were the only aspects of religion it would be, as some say it is, one of the things of which a world, oriented as is our modern world, is bound to get rid. It is not altogether surprising if, for example, the so-called labouring classes, many of them disillusioned in their view of the universe, turning eagerly to self-help, have reacted violently against a religion which, as they think, adds itself to the forces of those who keep them down. Just such a revolt against religion has been a phase of the progressive enlightenment and liberation of women. It has come with the vanishing of superstition and the enhancement of the spirit of self-realization among women. Christianity was long quoted in the interest of slavery. It is only the greater wonder that the free blacks did not turn against religion more often than they did. Christianity has been quoted against any

change in respect of the rights and privileges of women. Religion has been quoted on the side of every tyranny. This is so true that it is almost naïve to deceive oneself or seek to wax eloquent upon the point. The reaction has long since come in the West. It is a good reaction as against an inadequate or evil view of religion. The reaction is coming in the East as well. It undermines the faith of Indian women in their own religions first, because these are identified with their past oppressions, and as well because they are the most vulnerable to criticism from the side of modern enlightenment. The Indian woman knows however that many women in Christendom take a parallel position as over against Christianity. This faith too has come to appear to some in its own world as identified with past oppressions and impossible of combination with modern liberal notions. It is open to us to say that both in the East and West this is an attitude toward religion in general, which rests upon a grave misapprehension of the nature of religion. It is however a misapprehension which will never be done away with save by greater liberty and enlightenment. Finally, both in West and East the world does women this honour, that it dimly feels that the loss of all religion is a greater loss for women than it is for men.

We have touched more than once in passing upon the question of the relation of religion, and especially of Christianity, to the status of women. The relation has not been a simple one. Rather it gives cause for much reflection. The literature of the Hellenic peoples, although it contains some pictures of imperishable loveliness, gives us no high idea of the freedom of women or of their opportunity of self-realization. Even in the best days of Greek culture they were not assigned high places side by side with men in the loftier activities of man's life. The Romans had the advantage in this regard. The Roman matron was famous. It was however always the matron and besides her, at most, it was the vestal who was praised. As the Empire declined demoralization set in. This was the background for Christianity in the western world. Christianity however brought over, among the items of its Jewish inheritance, a nobler conception of the position of woman. In Israel there had

been prophetesses and saints. There had been national heroines, besides all those who stand even now in the Old Testament as types of all that women should be as wives and sisters and mothers. The Master's treatment of the question concerning women was, as was so much else with him, by implication rather than by argument. With him the position of women was not so much discussed as exquisitely taken for granted. It was a position very different from that which obtained in general in the world before him or about him. With every sense for the dignity of wife and mother, yet for him woman was primarily soul, individuality, moral and spiritual personality. This was as true for him in the case of women as in that of men. It was true with all the possibilities and obligations which that involves. This is the key to the whole position in the Gospel. One gets the impression that in the little circle of his followers there was not much thought about the disadvantages of women, nor even about the previous history of some women who were drawn within the circle. Similarly there was not much consideration given either to the wealth and honours or again to the humble origin of some of the men who formed that band. The question of the soul overtopped every other, and in the sense of that for which Jesus was striving all souls of men or women were alike. It was for the soul made one with God to express itself in its own appointed lot as best it could, and then to transform that lot so that it should be worthy of the soul which lived through Christ in God. Women in the early church filled a place and performed a part at which, we are told by the church fathers, the pagan world wondered. They were not taken out of their lot but their lot was forgotten. Just so slaves were not primarily taken out of their lot and yet everything in Christianity worked against slavery. Just so everything in real Christianity tends to work against that which is unworthy in the lot of women. So truly was the fact that these women were Christians the great fact about them that it was forgotten that they were women, save again in so far as their being women opened to them peculiar and inestimable opportunities to manifest Christianity in women's ways.

By the time, however, that the Empire had fallen and

the church had risen in its place new forces had made themselves felt. Over against the depravity of ancient society, or at least of a part of it, the church had taken up a position which had no relation to Christianity. Asceticism, celibacy, monasticism were not Christian ideals, though now they were to become such. They are not of Christian origin, although they have played a great part in Christian history. The laudation of virginity, the assumption of the spiritual superiority of monk or nun, the setting up of a double standard of life, as they wrought for the degradation of the family, so also they did untold injury to the position of women throughout the Middle Age. In chivalry the age sought to make some amends. We in the modern world owe much to the spirit of chivalry, far more than many modern women seem disposed to acknowledge. Yet even in chivalry the position assigned to women was far from granting her the freedom, responsibility or power which the best women desire. The homage which it rendered had often the flavour of a compliment which one pays from the serenity of a superior position and in place of rights and privileges denied. The age was an age of force, often of savage manifestations of force. An age of violence has never been favourable to women, just as among modern nations, even Christian nations, in those which worship force the position of women leaves much to be desired. So true are these strictures upon the society which monastic Christianity and mediæval chivalry produced, that it has often been doubted whether the real source of the loftier ideals for women and the larger legitimate scope given to women among the northern races of Europe is not to be sought elsewhere than in Christianity. It is asked whether this is not a consequence of the place accorded to women among the Teutonic and Saxon peoples, even before the coming of Christianity. Of that place Tacitus speaks with admiration. It is asked whether we have not here a racial contribution rather than an achievement of religion or, at all events, of the Christian religion. It is indeed quite certain that the view which these races took of women before the coming of Christianity did, when they came to be Christians, exert the profoundest influence to counteract certain evil tendencies in the Christianity

which was then current. Those tendencies, even if we say that they were not original with Christianity, must have seemed to these northern races absolutely characteristic of Christianity as it was preached to them. The Teutonic element certainly came in to reinforce an inward meaning of Christianity which we claim to have been the true meaning but which, at all events, greatly needed reinforcing.

Nevertheless, when all has been said against the mediæval ideals, the conventual life gave to some women, as the heads of great orders and powerful ecclesiastical institutions, a place in the world which we ought by no means to overlook. It opened a career to able women by which they might advance to an elevation scarcely second in influence and honour to that of any positions open to the men. It provided escape for thousands of women from marriages in which they would have been little better than slaves, or from situations as unmarried women in households in which they would have been nothing more than slaves. It gave place and scope for many pure and gentle souls in a rough and turbulent world. It established a refuge for widows and the unfortunate. It held out help even to women for whom in the modern world there is as good as no recovery. Here penitents took sanctuary against their own remorse. Here was room for women who wished to give themselves to study, or again, from an assured position to devote themselves to works of mercy. It is no disparagement of the family and of motherhood to say that the history of the sex and of the race would be indefinitely poorer without the type of womanhood for which the mediæval church thus offered an honourable place and an appointed scope. When the Protestant movement came it bitterly condemned the monastic life. It denounced the celibacy of the clergy. There had been grounds of accusation in the corruption of many convents and monasteries. Protestants upheld against the monastic ideal the sanctity of the home. They advocated a religion which must show itself not in flight from the world but in the fulfilment of all social obligations, especially the service of the state. They contended for that which we now call the gospel of the secular life. They closed the monasteries and nunneries. In Roman Catholic lands the

celibate life and a double standard of piety survived long after they had disappeared among the Protestants. Yet here too, in the end, the spirit of the revolution in France assailed them. Rationalism had no understanding of them. In the reactionary period of the nineteenth century, after 1815, the orders grew again with astounding rapidity. In recent years the Republic in France has aimed to make an end of them altogether, although the opposition has been not as in the sixteenth century from the religious but mainly from the secular point of view.

A grand organization of the life of some women, which in the Middle Age was universal in Christendom and in Catholic lands has continued down to our own time, has been taken away and nothing was provided to take its place. In Protestant lands the emphasis upon family life, just enough in its way, went far toward making marriage the only honourable lot for women, and the lot of all unmarried women almost impossible. It went far toward making the position of unmarried women one of dependence and of condemnation to trivial activities. It is a reprisal for this relapse that many women in Protestant lands are now seeking. Quite characteristically however they are seeking this adjustment on lines different from those on which the early church and the Middle Age appealed to religion and Christianity. They are seeking freedom and an opportunity of self-realization through vocation in the world, through industrial emancipation, through independent civil rights and even complete political responsibility. The English squire of the eighteenth century would have been horrified at the thought of his daughter becoming a nun, yet it never occurred to him to give her any opening into real and responsible existence such as the nunnery two centuries earlier would have offered her. In one sense we may say that these modern women in their revolt are only making earnest with that thought of the relation of religion and life with which the Reformation merely played. The Protestant application of its principle remained often superficial and one-sided. Men said that the noblest function of woman was in the home, which was true. It did not follow, however, that the only function of woman was in the home, or that woman must be com-

pelled to remain in the home even if she had there no worthy function. What wonder that these countries of the North have been the centre of the revolt which we describe.

Monasticism in its development for both sexes raised a question for the Middle Age, which it is possible that we also shall have to face, although for us it arises from another and not certainly from a better quarter. The historians of the Middle Age have generally agreed in considering it one of the causes of retardation of the life of that age that in large areas of society, and those the very best, there was no inheritance of talent. There was no transmission of certain of the higher qualities of leadership, especially of leadership in saintliness. There were no children born to certain people of the loftiest qualities. In a sense society always rejuvenates itself from below, but the loss of the highest qualities at the top is a very serious loss. Not a religious ideal but socialism, state philanthropy and the taxation which these impose, the economic conditions of the upper classes, have to some extent the same effect among us at the present moment. They raise the question of the sterility of the best. They raise the question whether an undue proportion of the children born into the world are not born of the elements of society mentally least potent and morally least fit. We sometimes ask, are the women with children to have no careers, or shall we be obliged to say that, with the ever-increasing intensity of life for those who have careers, it might be better that they should have no children. Men in the highest careers are not cut off from family life. In part it may be only because of a temporary mal-adjustment in social conditions that the way to both of these fulfilments of life at once is so much more difficult for women than it is for men. In part, however, it is a condition which can never be wholly done away. With every desire to open to women every opportunity of self-realization, it cannot be questioned that it is between the two poles indicated above that the life of a woman must move. It is within this contra-distinction that the problem will have to be solved. It is one of the curious facts of an age in which men and women fairly conjure with the word social, that socialism itself often fosters a fatal emphasis upon the individual. It

fosters rebellion in the interest of individual self-realization, against all the ties which have bound men and women in the past, including that from which men and women can never be free if there is to be any human race at all. The world as yet does women the honour to be more painfully impressed when women seek this isolating self-realization than when men do the same. It has been the custom to think of women as less selfish than men and more sensitive to the claims of society as a whole. Modern women have it in their own hands to perpetuate or to reverse that estimate.

There has been asceticism in the Orient, far more than in the Occident. Wherever Buddhism has gone there have been and are now Buddhist monks. There have been however relatively few Buddhist nuns. The development of the conventual life for women assumed far less proportions in the East than in the West. In some lands it was altogether lacking. It followed often from the oriental view of the status of women that the pathway of holiness was not open to her. In other words, a view of the religious life which was an importation from the East into the West and which, even so, was attended with much good for women in the West, never had any comparable benevolent results for women in the East. There has been education in the East but, with rare exceptions, women have been shut out from it. There has been liberty in the East, liberty of the most absolute sort for a few exalted individuals. The smallest conceivable proportion of these individuals have been women. There have been reformers in the East but only in the minutest measure have the reforms of civil, economic and social, or even of religious life touched women. We are speaking, of course, of the whole long lifetime of the world prior to the middle of the nineteenth century. There have been illustrious periods in the history of all these races. Little of that glorious history has been the history of women save, indeed, for the glory of the unwritten history wherever in both East and West women have manifested a love and faithfulness which are the more surprising when one thinks of the hardness of their lot. When one considers facts now fairly familiar to us as, for example, the fact that heredity often crosses sex with every generation, we are

surprised that the degradation of women in some parts of the East has not exerted a far more injurious effect, even upon the life of men. When one reflects upon the absolute power, for example, of the Sultan of Turkey as it has been in times past and recalls that the mothers of Sultans have been almost invariably captives, or women presented to the rulers, or slaves chosen for no other reason than their physical beauty and never admitted to any share in the larger life of their country, it is fair to ask whether any other social system ever took such risks of catastrophe to the state. We reflect how much depends upon the age and health of mothers and again upon the earliest environment of children. Then we think of the youth or veritable childhood of many mothers in India, of the ignorance of mothers in every eastern land, of the influences which must at times have prevailed in zenanas and harems and in patriarchal establishments where dual and triple marriages, and concubinage besides, prevailed. We can but be filled with wonder that the physique, the mentality and the morals of the male sex itself, to speak only of that, has not suffered immeasurably more than it has. One must be amazed that races among whom such conditions prevail have ever achieved the tithe of that which they have achieved. We see clearly, and the Orientals themselves now begin to see, that within this area lie the greatest of the changes which must come in oriental lands if they are ever to attain that to which, in the mobility and pressure of the modern world and in the competition with the western nations, they must attain or go under. It is not too much therefore to say that of all the influences which the West has exerted upon the East, none has been more significant than this which touches the question of women.

LECTURE VII

CHURCH AND MINISTRY

In that which we have thus far said in these lectures we have endeavoured to describe an influence of the West upon the East, the influence of greater Europe upon the rest of the world. We have endeavoured to deal with effects of this influence as these are visible in the life of practically all non-European peoples. The movement began in being a conquest, or at least an attempted conquest. It continued in being an exploitation of the weaker by the stronger for the purposes of trade. It has ended in being a vast and complex assimilation to standards of the West which is evidenced in every phase of Eastern life. We have traced that assimilation in the departments of civil life and government, in economic and social relations and in the area of education and morals. We have spoken now and then of reflex action of East upon West. We come now to the larger paragraph upon effects within the sphere of religion. We shall be led to recognize that in no aspect of life does the reflex influence make itself more profoundly felt than in that of religion.

Bishop Berkeley lies buried in the cathedral of Christ Church here in Oxford. Americans read his epitaph with varied emotions. Berkeley was one of the few cultivated Englishmen who lived for a long time in our country in the period when its earlier close contacts with Cambridge and Oxford had ceased and before the era when they had become numerous and fruitful again. Bishop Berkeley wrote: "Westward the star of Empire takes its way." We have lived to see that prophecy fulfilled and again in a sense reversed. A West whose fringe Berkeley touched has grown great. It has claimed the East. The East claims it again. Whether we journey through the Suez Canal to India and Japan, or across America and the Pacific

to Japan and India, now makes little difference. Europe has claimed Asia and Africa. It has not made good these claims without concessions, conscious or unconscious, to the mind and life of those whom it has touched. It has changed Asia but it has itself been changed in the process. It has given laws to its conquests whether they be conquests of its arms or of its spirit. Once again the old saying verifies itself, the conquered give laws to the conquerors. This is partially true even in the realm of outward facts and acts. It is increasingly true as we leave that realm and enter the kingdom of the spirit. Religion, morals and social life will show this reflex more than trade or government. This is true because of the subtler aspects of human nature which are involved. These are the areas in which the deeper elements of men's lives assert themselves. These are the elements in respect of which it is more improbable that nature will be permanently overlaid. War may be carried on, trade conducted, medicine practised, even government administered, almost precisely as these things are done in the West. Deeper matters however, education, manners and morals and religion, will show in an ever-ascending scale the way in which the mind of the man of the East inevitably works upon the material and through the methods which he has derived from the West. We have here a gamut, an ascending scale, another illustration of the law which we have tried to follow in the arrangement of all the bewildering details which are dealt with in this book. We meet an ever greater resistance as we approach the inner life of men. We must expect that the reaction of that inner life will be ever greater upon our own. We think that the hard facts in life are the outward and material ones. On the contrary, the elements most nearly insoluble and impenetrable are the spiritual ones. The elements most sure to assert and to reassert themselves are the spiritual ones.

Medicine may be much the same the world over because men's bodies will be much the same. We easily make ourselves at home with the assertion that medicine should be the same the world over. Religion will never be the same because men's souls are different. The religions of the East

were the highly developed expressions of the souls of the men of the East and of the answer of God to their souls when as yet they had no contacts with the West whatsoever. Even the same religion is not the same in West and East. Judaism is not the same thing in Russia and in New York. Christianity will never be the same thing in the East that it is in the West. It will show differences because Christian souls are different. The life of the soul is more permanent than any other life whether of an individual or of a people. The traits of the soul are the most permanent traits, the more unconscious the more permanent. Christianity will present the spectacle of uniformity in West and East only so long as Christianity in the missionary lands is in the exotic, the artificial and imitative, the missionary stage. It will show this face only so long as these lands are in the state of tutelage. When Asiatic Christianity advances beyond that we shall have Japanese and Chinese and Indian Christianity. When these reach any measure of maturity they will react powerfully upon European and American Christianity. As we dwell upon the specifically religious results of the movement we are seeking to depict, this reflex and reciprocation will be constantly borne in upon us. The characteristic influences of Europe are altered upon alien soil. They undergo significant variation in changing their environment. Racial climate and soil affects them. Insistence upon sameness of method dooms us to secure a different result or no result. A different method would be the only way to secure an identical result. One must have originality enough to see this. This is the point at which literalism fails. The best of intentions cannot offset the lack of sympathy and commonsense. It is not that we are given over here in the sphere of morals and religion to a boundless relativity. It is only that we are working in the sphere of the intensest and the freest life.

Asiatic interpretations and applications of Christianity may help us to understand differences, denominational and others, which exist among ourselves. We are struggling with the problem of Christian unity here at home. We are too near to the differences which divide us to see them aright. We see them larger than they are. We permit them

to hide from us through a false perspective far more significant elements in respect of which we are already at one. When we see, as we may see in Japan at the present moment, a vigorous oriental Christianity in which our historic differences have practically no significance whatever, when we realize that oriental Christendom gets on no worse but rather the better for that fact, we may learn that after all uniformity is not unity. Unity may be best secured by those who, realizing in what measure unity already exists, have given up all desire for uniformity. After all, the being a Catholic or a Protestant is a kind of climate. The being an Anglican or a Nonconformist has some of the effects of latitude and longitude. It is with many a question of soil and history. If Christian unity is to be postponed until all Catholics become Protestants or even until all dissenters become Church of England people, it will be postponed a very long time. It is to be feared that most churches and many individuals are still in the attitude of mind which might be described as the mind of conquest. They are obviously willing to make a complete conquest of their ecclesiastical opponents. It has certainly been true that in time past most of those interested in missions expected to conquer for their faith those whom they prevailingly described as heathen. It is interesting to note that this term is used with diminished frequency. There are some of us who have almost desisted from its use. When we do use it we refer quite as often to residents of avenues or denizens of the slums in our own great cities. We therewith denominate those who are really without serious hold upon any religion. We by no means suppose that all such are dwellers in non-Christian lands.

The Christianization of the world will not leave all the other religions without adherents, or at least not for a very long time. On the contrary, Christian elements will permeate the mind and life of many who will yet for a long time hold to non-Christian faiths. Only when these faiths fail to support the highest life of the various races will they fade away. If they do thus fade away and their followers come to bear the name of Christian, memorials of these ancient faiths will be found living within the Christianity which

their former adherents have adopted. The Christianization of the world to which we may reasonably look forward, will be the parallel of all those Christianizations of parts of the world which have already taken place. It will be the parallel of all the other aspects of the extension of Christendom which in these chapters we have been studying. The prospect of what one might call an outward displacement of all faiths by one is immeasurably less than is the prospect of a similar displacement of all civilizations by one. Yet until we have considered it we are likely to think just the opposite. Christianity will assimilate much in these other faiths to itself. It will be in its measure assimilated to them. How long some of these faiths can last, now that the period of disintegration and inner transformation has begun, is for their own conscientious adherents to say. It is a matter concerning which it would be rash for any of us to prophesy. Christianity itself cannot live with its new world except upon terms of meeting the deepest spiritual needs of that new world. We believe that long before it does away with other faiths, and perhaps without ever doing away with them, Christianity will stimulate and enhance the good of other faiths and correct their evils. It will lose, we may hope and pray, some of the traits which have been limited, unworthy and evil in any historic manifestation of Christianity which we have yet had. We may thus make our own sincere profession of faith as to what Christianization means. We may deprecate the ideal of conquest for the extension of Christianity, just as we have already deprecated that same ideal of conquest pure and simple for the expansion of Christendom. The idea of the complete displacement of one religion by another is not more worthy than is that of similar displacement of one civilization by another. It is also distinctly less feasible, as the whole tenor of our discussion shows. Did not the associations of our current speech, and even the language familiar in our moments of truest consecration to high ends mislead us, we should know this. We should know that the destiny of both our faith and of our civilization lies not in its destroying but in its fulfilment of all that has heretofore been worthiest in the life of mankind. Nevertheless we shall certainly not obtain the true perspective for the theme to be

discussed in these remaining lectures, unless we put ourselves back at the beginning of our movement and into the mood of those who began it. We must be just to the history. We must realize that the men who inaugurated this magnificent missionary endeavour would by no means have agreed with that which we have just said.

The eager advocates of missions at the opening of the modern movement, the heroic men and women who took their place in the van and laid down their lives upon the frontiers of the world, looked forward to a victory of Christianity over the ethnic religions, a conquest over them, their displacement by it, their gradual elimination before it. We may use every one of these phases but we are aware that we use them with a different shading and in a different context from that in which our fathers' minds found rest. The heroic spirits of the opening of the missionary endeavour, certainly did not look forward to an issue like that which we above outlined. They certainly did not look forward to a transfusion of those religions with Christian elements. They did not expect that if these religions disintegrated and lost their identity it would be by an inward process and not merely, nor even mainly, by an outward withdrawal of adherents through the conversion of these to Christianity. Still less did they look forward to a transfusion, even if only temporary, of Christianity by elements drawn from the indigenous religions, philosophies, cultures and other factors of social and moral life. We may hold these views and say that we have learned them in the century of missions. We ought not to try to validate these views by alleging that the founders of the movement also held them. Prevailingly they viewed the ethnic religions as more or less completely erroneous, mere creations of the darkened minds and superstitious fears of men or else bare fragments of a lost and almost forgotten revelation of God. One and all were of evil. They were misleading, soul-destroying. One and all were to give place to the one real and true religion, that of Jesus. The missionaries were for the most part not aware that in thus arguing they were departing from the nobler tradition of Christian apologetic as exhibited in Clement of

Alexandria and Origen, when these and others like them, children of the best life of their age, lived as true Christians in the midst of a cultivated heathen world. They forgot all about the witness of "the soul naturally Christian." They forgot what seem to us clear intimations of Paul in the very chapter of the Romans in which he sets forth the wickedness of the pagans. They followed rather the tradition of the Roman Church from which at most points they so sincerely dissented.

Again, in their allegiance to the ecumenical creeds and the Reformation symbols as embodying the gospel which had fallen in original purity from Jesus' lips, with their sense that their own forms of church government, episcopal, presbyterian, independent, or whatever they might be, their confidence that their own mode of baptism, their own ritual of worship or their lack of ritual, was guaranteed in the words of an oracular inspiration, they could not but expect that the church in China or in Turkey, in Africa or the Islands, would assume the form which it had in England or New England and would never depart from the same. For Protestants the absolute character of the revelation contained on the Holy Scriptures was an inviolable presupposition. The view of scripture and of the other faiths which was taking shape under the hands of Lessing and Herder never touched the Pietists. Evangelicals thought as hardly of Coleridge for one reason as Newman did for another. Those mitigations of the doctrine of the atonement which Campbell offered were far from commending him to Chalmers and the leaders of the Free Church from whom the missionary propaganda received such splendid impetus. Yet these all would seem to us to make easier and not more difficult the approach of the non-Christian mind to Christianity. We have to remember that it was not the approach of the non-Christian mind to Christianity which was sought. It was the submission of that mind to Christianity which was demanded. It was not mediation between two sets of ideas which was desired. It was substitution of the one series for the other which was intended. The scientific study of the history of religions is a development largely of the last generation. The philosophy of religion within that same

period may be said to have become a new science. Students of the last quarter of a century have had a chance to become conversant with these themes. Missionaries have rendered illustrious contribution to these studies. Points of contact and of contrast among the great faiths of men appeal to us in a manner widely different from that which our fathers assumed. Quite apart from such formal studies, experience in the field affects the minds of devoutest emissaries of Christianity in a way which once would have been esteemed hardly consonant with loyalty. Men sometimes demanded of those who would confess Christianity such an attitude of antagonism to ancestral faiths, to national and family traditions in neutral and even trivial matters, that we sometimes wonder that the number of confessors was even so great as it was. The way of the convert seems to us often to have been made needlessly difficult. We now feel that the spiritual elements in the indigenous faiths should be joyfully recognized. Its ethical achievements and possibilities should be availed of. The points which unite us to the men to whom we preach should be dwelt on and utilized before the points dividing us should be brought into view. This all belongs however to a theory of missions and a view of the missionary propaganda which is to us so axiomatic that we can hardly realize how new it is. The gentle Oriental has had much to suffer from the energetic occidental emissary of salvation in this way. He must often have had cause to wonder over that curious state of the western mind which could lead a man to leave his home and kin ostensibly—oh no, most really—to persuade others to listen to a revelation of love, and then permit or almost enjoin upon him to assume a dogmatic attitude which fairly precluded persuasion and made love and trust improbable.

All this however has passed away. The change has perhaps taken place more rapidly among the missionaries abroad than among the supporters of missions at home. These last are moved sometimes neither by studies nor experience. Sympathetic appreciation of the religious views of the ethnic systems and of the moral and social consequences of the ethnic faiths still seems to some of these a betrayal. To the missionaries, to many of them at all events,

the same attitude appears as a concession gladly to be made and indeed impossible to be withheld. In the preparation of the volume on Education in the series of reports to the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, your lecturer read thousands of pages of letters written in answer to questions bearing upon the points here raised. There was scarcely an opinion expressed by a missionary in the field in dissent from the view above expressed. Principal Cairns in another of the volumes of those reports takes occasion to say: "We in our armchairs at home have verily no need to indite any lectures to our brethren on the importance of knowledge of and sympathy with the religions of the peoples whom they seek to evangelize. They can preach better sermons than can we on the pregnant saying of the Master: 'I come not to destroy but to fulfil.' In every portion of the field the most typical missionaries are bending all their powers to the task of acquiring a sympathetic understanding of the people's thought. They are busy with the heaps of chaff which lie upon the threshing floor, not to estimate with scorn the mass of it which is good for nothing but the fire. Rather, they are busy to pick out the grains of scattered seed which are to grow in their own Master's field. Even those who labour among the lowest animists are not exceptions to this rule." On the other hand a civil servant of high rank in India, who had spent forty years in that land, wrote: "I find no fault with the most sympathetic attitude toward Hinduism. I do not see however that we gain much if the ugly aspects of Hinduism are forgotten in our effort to bring out its better features. I do not see that we gain much if we fall into the mood of mere extolling of the good in theoretical Hinduism and simply find fault with actual Christianity. It is the theoretical Hinduism in which one largely finds the good. It is in the practical effect of Christianity that one becomes most deeply aware of the difference. We may easily read high meanings into other faiths by mistaken explanations of acts which are only outwardly capable of such high interpretation. The man who knows the country may know only too well that the lower meaning is the actual and prevalent one." There is nothing in the comparative study of religions, there is nothing in the experience of the advocates of Christianity

in their contact with the representatives of the ethnic faiths, to shake the confidence of Christians that the religion they profess does represent a higher level of intuition in its revealing personality, a higher level of experience and inspiration in some of those who followed in his steps, than do any of the other faiths. Such students are afresh convinced that this is the highest religious level which the world has seen. They feel that there is a power in this faith for the regeneration of character and the transformation of the life of mankind beyond any which has elsewhere been evinced. They may be led in humility to abandon claims for Christianity which they themselves once made and which are obviously untenable. They may very easily be led to see that claims which the church has at times made for itself are without foundation. The claim that there is in Christianity however a power for the renewal of the individual, and for the reconstruction of society as a whole, which has wrought wonders in time past and among all races with which it has ever come in contact, seems quite tenable. He who has felt this power of renewal in himself and witnessed it in others feels that he has no right to withhold it from any man to whom he can bring aid. He who esteems the bare mandate of the master to be sufficient, to him it is sufficient. He should not judge pharisaically the man to whom the same commission is sufficient not because it is a mandate but because of the meaning it conveys. He who has felt the power in himself and felt the need of the world, the need and the power of personal renewal and of social transformation, is happy in seeing the rivalry of all the other powers of good which the world has produced, each striving to confer upon men the highest benefit that it has to bestow. He has no doubt within himself which of these powers will ultimately prevail.

We repeat however that the pioneers of missions had no such vision of the triumph of Christianity as this. Those for whose minds Christianity is always and only the Christianity of the past have no such vision of the triumph of Christianity now. But what is Christianity? Is it anything but that element of the pure spiritual intuition and enthusiasm of Jesus which, in composition with elements given in time and place and circumstance, did the work

which a given race or era needed to have done and aided men to live their lives in God? Few would any longer contend that a religion is to be understood by its origins alone. Most would assert that, on the contrary, the highest religions are to be estimated by their most highly developed stages and widest applications. Their whole essence is revealed only in the sum of their racial and chronological manifestations. Of those which are still in vital and vigorous relation to the world something of their essence waits still to be revealed. The Christians of yet unknown lands and times may say of the Christians of our own lands of to-day and of those of all the past: They without us could not be made perfect. Equally we may say that we without them cannot know what the height and depth of Christianity is. We may be only too deeply and too justly depressed at the sight of all that is sordid and brutal in our western civilization, shocked at its vices and crimes, humiliated at the miseries and sins which it leaves almost untouched. The time is gone by however when we could wish that the Oriental might not have come into contact with it. He is in contact with it. He desires that contact. He desires nothing so much. His own ancestral faiths have withered by that contact. It is not certain that they can ever recover what they have lost in that contact. It is certain that they must be greatly transformed because of this contact. We rejoice that they are seeking to transform themselves. Our own faith must be transformed to meet the need of a new time, even here in our own lands. It must be transformed to meet the need of different lands in the same new time. The Oriental must be brought into contact with our faith. The Oriental is in contact with both our morals and our faith and, for that matter, in contact with our lack of faith and with our treason to morals. He appropriates much that is worst in our situation as if he had not already full measure of that which is bad of his own. The best that we can now do about it is to see that he comes in contact also with that which is best in our civilization and with that which we believe to be the source of all that is best. The one thing which we can now do about it is to offer him that which, as we see it, is the saving element within our own civilization.

We must try to offer it to him in such a manner that he can really make it his own. The only thing that we can now do about it is to offer him our faith, not indeed as the only faith by which God has ever drawn near to men. It is not that. We may offer it as the faith which has gone further than has any other in adjustment to the civilization which he seems determined to have. We may offer it as the faith which on the witness of the last two thousand years, as we see it, has on the whole carried men farthest, has comprehended most and has best fostered the life of the soul by the things of the spiritual world, the eternal life in the midst of time.

For all reasons the treatment of this portion of our subject in detail must begin with the discussion of the church and its reproduction in the foreign lands, at first upon the lines which were familiar to the missionaries in their own lands. We must speak of its organization and equipment, of the provision for its extension and perpetuation, of its modification to meet new conditions, of its accommodation to the instincts and impulses of new peoples, of its naturalization in the national life. The church at home and abroad is the central force for the real expansion of Christendom. Without this vital force the expansion of Christendom is such only in name and outward appearance. It is the attempt to cause other nations to enter into the enjoyment of some of the fruits of Christianity but not to graft them into the living root whence these are sprung. It is not to insure that the new peoples shall be able to bring forth like fruit in their turn. The church, the specifically religious community, is the conserver and transmitter of this vitality.

Chronologically also, as well as logically, this is the point at which we ought to begin. In overwhelming proportion it has been the missionaries and not the soldiers and governors, it has been the missionaries and not the merchants and civil servants, with whom has lain the initiative in almost all the civilizing work to which we have referred. It has been the missionary doctors, not medical men as such, who have opened the hospitals and laid the foundation of medical instruction. Not professional students of language as such, but missionaries, have done by far the largest part of the work of reducing

the new languages to writing, of translating the Bible, of producing other books and creating literature. Not professional educators in the first instance, but missionary teachers, have been founders of schools and colleges, inaugurators of the work of the press. Not industrial innovators and social reformers as such, but missionaries, have been the first to struggle with the poverty of the converts and their exclusion from castes and trades, with the status of women, with the helplessness of orphans, with conditions of plague and famine. Others have followed in their steps, but the missionary has usually blazed the way. Yet the missionary has always regarded these matters, however valuable in themselves, as merely subordinate to his main end. He has always considered them side issues and by-products of his main endeavour. He has considered these works as but the fringe and circumference of his task. His central task, and in the early stages you might almost say his exclusive task, was the preaching of the gospel of God as revealed in Christ to the souls of men. The later representatives of the mission cause have indeed come to regard these secondary aims as more intimately connected with the essential purpose than the earliest of the missionaries had felt them to be. We in our generation feel more strongly than did the men of a century ago the unity of man's life, the impossibility of touching it effectually if we touch it at one point only. Yet the most modern missionary with all of his sympathy with humanitarian ends does not regard these as his main ends. He would still say that he held himself to be primarily a minister of religion, that he sought converts to a faith, that he wished to build up a church and to establish a religious community. The church has been from the beginning and is now the first thing, because the missionary believes that out of the heart are the issues of life. He follows one who said, "Man shall not live by bread alone." He hears ever ringing in his ears the cry of the Master: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" That is the difference between the minister and the philanthropist, the agitator or reformer at home. That is, this is the difference between the agitator and the minister who remains a real minister, and does not merely

become an agitator who has surreptitiously converted a pulpit into a platform and a worshipping community into a mere audience for political and social harangues. This is the difference between the missionary and the agitator and reformer abroad. You can solve the problem of men's lives if you can touch their souls. There is no certainty that you will do anything but deaden their souls by that which turns out to be a mere improvement of their lot. It is certain that neither in the West nor in the East does mere social service and philanthropic work show that power over the deep places of the personal life, that recreative influence upon character, which the specific religious propaganda has always set for itself. It will be possible to demonstrate in the East as truly as it has been already demonstrated in the West, that mere relief of the distresses of men may leave them only the more selfish and vicious, the more demanding and less dutiful, the more rebellious and less responsible, than they were before.

So that the missionary who, in all the welter which faced him when he came, a century ago, to these strange lands, kept close to the problem of the soul and had no ambition but to gather a company of believers, a band of repenting, praying, loving disciples of a faith, no end but to establish a little church, was at all events in the company of his own Lord and Master. The Master also must have seen about him a thousand things which needed reforming. Despite that fact, or rather because of his deeper insight into the nature of that fact, he kept close to the problem of the soul. He aimed immediately at discipleship. He made of his followers an apostolate. He founded a religious society. There is therefore something very great and beautiful about the work and influence of the men who for generations, in face of opposition from those to whom they came, despite obloquy and misunderstanding in the lands from which they went, have kept on their way. They stuck to their task, subtle as it was and disheartening often in the last degree, the task of endeavouring through the possession of the secret places of their own life by the spirit which was in Christ, to bring others to that same spirit and inwardness of life. They sought to cheer, uplift and fortify men and women by

the touch of Christ for the life which these had to lead. They were not unmindful of the fact that the great agents of necessary change in the outward conditions of a people's life must be the people themselves, whose characters they sought to elevate and purify. They sought to create little groups and communities, communions rather, of men and women of like spirit with their own. They established churches. It is possible for us now to say that we do not altogether lament that Robert Morrison was so long detained in Macao and again shut up to one activity in Canton, that namely, of studying the languages of China, of translating the Bible, of writing a grammar and making a dictionary. We say perhaps that he builded better than he knew. He worked for a larger future than he understood. Robert Morrison however lamented these facts. He would far rather have preached the gospel and fathered a church. He counted the one convert, his own language teacher, whom after years he was permitted to see, as of far more consequence than the monuments of his literary labour. He had gone to China with the burning love of souls. Such had been his experience of the solid wall which the China of those days presented that he left a pathetic estimate that perhaps after a hundred years there might be in China a thousand converts to the name of Christ. He was a man of faith. But that two hundred thousand Chinese Protestants would be counted in the year of the hundredth anniversary of Morrison's arrival would have seemed to him incredible. We can follow in some measure the influence of Morrison's books. We cannot follow the influence of his convert. He is lost to us. There is no way of proving that Morrison was not right, that the man would do more for the spiritual life of China than all the books. One thing is certain. It is because the early missionaries sought men and counted their gains in souls that their work has come to the fruition that it has. This of evangelism is the phase of missionary work which preponderated in the past. It was almost the exclusive ideal at the first. In some lands there was for a time opportunity for no other phase of work than this. It is the phase from which just now, in the prevailing temper of the age, there is some risk that we turn aside. It is a phase

which is often spoken of rather slightingly, relegated to a period of unsophistication and generally regarded as a stage good to have outgrown. There is a little feeling that if we could only keep this aspect of our work of evangelism and extension of the religious community in the background we might win support where heretofore we have had little sympathy. Now it may be true that in the time to come the missionaries themselves will have less to do with evangelism. They may turn it over far more than they have thus far done to representatives of the race among whom the converts are sought. This is however another matter. That is not because we have less interest in evangelism. It is because we have so great interest in it that we wish to turn it over to those who can do it best. What is certain is that if the point of view of the presentation of the gospel to individual souls of men for their acceptance, if the point of view of the extension of the church as church, as religious community, is lost, it will be something less than Christianity which is propagated in these lands.

The history of the missions in the Ottoman Empire alone seems to offer an exception to this rule of the priority of the church in the missionary endeavour. This is, however, an exception rather in appearance than in fact. It is well known that the first American missionaries who went to the Levant had the aim of the conversion of the Jews. Finding practically no opening for that work, they turned to the task of co-operation with and regeneration of the ancient Christian Churches which had been so long persecuted by Islam. Here at least were churches of the Christian name, and the missionaries' reverence for them prevented at the first even the thought of proselytizing amongst them or occasioning schism from them. At first the co-operation of the missions was welcomed. Only when the effect of this new energy, this light and moral stirring from the side of the new men of the West, began to make itself felt, were the ecclesiastical authorities disturbed. There was disaffection in the membership and insistence upon the education of the priests. An occasional priest took a stand against the exclusive ceremonialism which had become traditional, or in favour of preaching and urged the renewal of the moral life. Such

priests were disciplined. The authorities drove out those who had really been moved by the missionaries. Only then and only in the light of the Ottoman rule that every subject of the Empire must be classified under some recognized religious communion, did the missionaries and their adherents give up the effort merely to quicken these venerable churches and reluctantly set up a Protestant body alongside of the Greek Catholic communions within which they would gladly have been included. Those conversant with the history must have been aware of the interesting parallel presented by the dream which they had cherished to the ambition to reform the Eastern Church through its touch with the Protestant ideas for which the Patriarch Cyril Lucar had laid down his life two hundred years before. There came a brief period in which, because these puritans and their followers had fallen out with the Christian ecclesiastics, the Mohammedans took them up. The enmity of the Orthodox magnates would have been almost sufficient in itself to cause the followers of the Prophet to look with favour on the new movement. There were moreover other traits which appeared to command sympathy. There was the simplicity of worship, the absence of images, the reverence for a book. These seemed to imply a point of view not remote from the Moslems' own. Yet here also it was not long before the friendship cooled. The zeal for education after the western fashion, the tradition of liberty, the pressure for reform of some things in the social life of Islam, led to the same troubles as before. As for conversions, the resistance of the Moslems was if possible even greater than that of the Jews.

Thus perforce, as it were, and having tried the specific religious work on every side in vain, the missionaries were driven to take up the work of education. They turned to the practice of medicine, to the setting up of presses and the dissemination of literature. We recall the labours at Constantinople of a most distinguished group of western scholars in the translation of the Bible into all the more important languages used within the realm. We are reminded of the flood of literature of every sort which has gone out from the presses at the Bible House in Stamboul. We think of the founding of Robert College, of the college at Beirut, of

Constantinople College for Women, and of the nine colleges under the American Board in Asia Minor. We think of the youth of a dozen races and of half as many faiths who have gone out from these halls, now for half a century. We learn of the part which they have played in their own countries and of the share which they have had in the changes which have taken place in Turkey in these later years. We may indeed question whether there has not been a more rapid permeation of the whole country under the Sultan with western political and social and economic ideas, a more general setting forth of western moral and religious principles, than would have taken place had the usual order of missionary endeavour, church first and civilization afterwards, been observed. Men have gone over in masses to western ideas, who have been farthest possible removed from going over to Christianity. Abdul Hamid II. is credited with having said apropos of the Bulgarian troubles in 1877, that if there were two Robert Colleges his throne would not be secure. It cannot be doubted that of all the liberalizing and modernizing influences in the Empire, of all the forces which have long been preparing in silence the way for reform, the greatest has been that of these agencies of the missionaries, who yet neither dared nor desired to descend to agitation but have simply given light. On the other hand the instability which has been manifested by the constitutional government inaugurated so few years ago with such high hope, the obvious and grave mistakes which have been made, the hollowness which its time of trial has revealed and the dramatic retribution which has fallen upon it, may well serve to prompt the question whether at this point too, our exception does not prove the rule. The thing which has been conspicuously absent has been a sufficient number of men of character corresponding to the new ideals. The qualities requisite to the carrying out of the ideals of the new régime are of slower growth than the ideas. Those qualities are fostered in a different way. They come more often by the influence of personalities and through the discipline of established relations. It is character which every missionary worthy of the name wishes before all things to foster. It is character which the church makes

it its aim to build up. It is character which Christianity as a religion, far more than Christianity as a reforming and revolutionary agency, tends to create. Influence for character the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire have exerted, but precisely the instrumentality best adapted to that purpose has been developed on but a small scale compared with those other agencies of which we have spoken and through which they have been able to make themselves felt. Influence for Christian character others have exerted, statesmen and diplomats and men of affairs. Indeed we should be the last to imply that Mohammedanism has not been to many of its adherents a ministry of character. Whether however Mohammedanism can be the vital religion of a civilization so vastly transformed in all other respects after the pattern of that which is western, remains to be seen. In the suddenness of the transformation, representative government and democratic institutions and social policies have laid stress upon the individual. They demand personal responsibility upon the part of the masses of men in a manner which Christianity has tended in high degree to develop, when it has had its own opportunity to work patiently upon the masses. The missions and their little churches had a contribution to make toward the stock of character for the nation against that emergency. They have not been favourably situated for making it. The influence of this sort which they have exerted has been almost exclusively upon the Armenian race. It may well be argued that, within the limits of influence which they could have exerted in any case, the kind of influence which the misisonaries instinctively desired to exert would have been the very thing which was needed. The slower process which they would naturally have inaugurated would have been better in the end than the indirect, inverted and more rapid course which they were obliged to pursue. The religious ideal has been to try to develop a certain type of individual character and then to give it its sphere. The course of events in Turkey has been such as to give to individuals all over the land a sphere and responsibility such as they before never dreamed. The sphere was thus forced to develop the character. This it will no doubt in some

measure do in Turkey as elsewhere. The process is, however, precarious. It is subject to disastrous oscillations and reverses. Demand is made of men and nations to which they have to grow up. Experience is paid for in a dear school, especially when the experience is on so stupendous a scale as that of the series of international complications into which the Porte had been drawn within these last years. If Turkey thus furnishes an exception to our rule in this fact, that all the other missionary activities and instrumentalities developed were far beyond the missionary church, it still casts an interesting side-light upon the general rule of the priority of the church.

Let us take a case which represents almost the opposite extreme, the case of a work like that of John Paton and his islanders in the New Hebrides. It is practically the same case which was presented in the early stages of the work of the men who Christianized all the islands of the South Seas. It represents the ideal and practice of the men from Williams and Coleridge Patteson and Titus Coan to Hiram Bingham and Logan. With certain characteristic variations the case was not dissimilar in the work of Mackay and Hannington in Uganda. There was no highly developed and deeply entrenched religion with which the emissary of Christianity was brought face to face. There was no proud civilization whose standards he had to dispute and whose influence he had to resist. There was primitive superstition and barbarism. There was murderous propensity and cannibalism and a naïve sort of shamelessness in vice. If these seemed at the first to constitute great difficulties, yet the very vastness of the interval between the white man and these brown or black children gave him, when once the initial barriers of suspicion had been broken down, a leadership of which the value can hardly be estimated. One reads Paton's autobiography and the charming and humorous letters of his shrewd Scottish wife, or again the account of the short struggle of Coleridge Patteson so soon to be crowned with martyrdom. One would not detract for a moment from the honour due their sufferings and sacrifice or underrate the address and patience which their victories cost. Yet surely there is a sense in which we may say that these prob-

lems were relatively simple. They were easy and simple problems in contrast with the complexity and subtilty presented by other missions in their own time their own missions in a later time. That the good man should have been able to bring his handful of islanders in less than a single generation from a condition of abject savagery to a state in which there was hardly an adult who was not a communicant in good standing in the church was indeed a notable achievement. That this venerable father in God should have been both priest and king to his people, executive, legislator, doctor and nurse, teacher of trades, founder in every aspect of it of an immeasurably purified and uplifted tribal life—that was a feat possible only, if we may so say, upon an island, and that practically only so long as no other white man visited the island. That naked cannibals, whose greatest glory was in the number of murders they committed, should have been brought to the position of a community in which violence had ceased, adultery was almost unknown and even theft rarely heard of, where Sunday was kept as it is not in any corner of Europe or America, where the church was the one and adequate social centre, where the golden rule was axiomatic and the law of love the maxim of men's lives, that was an achievement which without the personality of Paton would indeed have been inconceivable but which even with the personality of Paton only the peculiar circumstances could explain. Allow what you will for exaggeration in our portrayal, say if you will that it was too good to be true, it was at all events too good to last. It was an idyllic condition. It was like a home life with heavenly minded parents and little children and as yet no contacts with the world. The coming of white men to sell liquor, the going of the natives to Australia to work on the plantations under contracts which amounted to enslavement and from which they returned infected with the white man's diseases and inured to his vices, made an end of that idyllic condition, or at least gave those who had laboured so devotedly for it a heart-breaking struggle and made its ending a matter of relatively little time. Indeed, here as in most of the islands, the contact and competition with the stronger race proves the beginning of the end of the native

population altogether. The Sandwich Islands and Samoa show this only too plainly. Duncan created such a situation for a time with his Indians on Metlakahtla. The white man wanted the island. Over on the mainland whither the Indians were forced to move, first the virtues and then the possessors of them tended to fade away. The church in Uganda was once the wonder of the world. It is still a church and kingdom of significance. The protectorate has prevented a fate just like that alluded to and which would almost surely have befallen them. Yet the first radiance with which the Uganda Mission shone when the spirit of God moved upon it has somewhat faded, although it seems as if it must always be salt of the earth and light of a dark world in eastern equatorial Africa. The record of the worship and service of these blacks, whose own fathers killed Hannington, is still wonderful. Korea has been the field of such revivals of religion as elsewhere in our generation we have hardly known. Yet the fact that it was the "hermit nation" had something to do with that. It is not now a hermit nation. Its isolation and aversion to the influence of Chinese, of Russians or of Japanese had some relation to these facts. The testing time for Korean Christianity is yet to come. It seems likely to be a very serious testing. It would seem to be true sometimes of tribes and nations as of individuals that there is a heaven which lies about the infancy of their spiritual life. It is part of maturing that the radiance of dawn fades into the common light of day. Conversion is a great uplift but men do not always do their first works. Indeed life demands of us something more than that which conversion alone supplies.

No one who has travelled among the missions and visited particularly the remoter stations can have failed to be impressed, despite the relative age of some of these missions and despite all the movement and disturbances of our time, with the docility with which men and women have received the new gospel of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. He is struck with the zeal with which they try to follow those who have brought them the message, with the simplicity with which they believe and the single-heartedness with which they obey. They are all eagerness to assent to that which

they esteem should be assented to. They relate their Christian experience in phrases which one must have heard in any revival meeting in England or America. They sing translations of revival hymns to hardly recognizable attempts at the reproduction of our tunes. They preach in the language of Zion with which we are familiar but are endlessly surprised to find them familiar too. They read "Pilgrim's Progress" in any one of scores of languages. They interpret the religious experience as if they were puritans of Bunyan's time. At first we ask ourselves, why so? And then we ask ourselves, why not? How could it be otherwise? Must it not be so, so long as Christianity is as yet insufficiently naturalized in these lands or not naturalized at all? At the first, the very reverence with which his grateful converts look up to the man who brought them the treasure of the gospel forbids them to think of it in any other form than that in which he brought it. Hostility to the foreigner may be the trait of their race in many or in all other relations than this of the gospel. Assertion of themselves may become their attitude by and by in dealing even with this. For the time however the experience of the Christian faith, with those with whom it becomes an experience at all, and the exaltation which it gives to life, carries everything before it. It is a tribute to the greatness of the gospel. For the moment its messengers shine by its reflected light.

Two hundred and eighty miles from one of the ports of Southern China, in a mountainous country which presents great difficulties to travellers, is the central station of a mission which has been cultivated for now nearly fifty years. In this whole long period it has been but rarely visited by strangers. It has had the greatest difficulty in maintaining its staff. Conditions of family or of health really governed many of the changes. Some of the members of the larger body of the mission adapted to other phases of work deemed it enough to have spent a few years in so remote a place. One man's ministration covered almost the whole period, as also his touring had touched almost every village in the whole wide field a score of times. Mild scepticism had been expressed as to whether a proposed visitation of responsible persons from America would ever be carried out. It was

doubted whether the deputation would ever bring themselves to undertake so prolonged and arduous a journey. When, with the old hero of that station the deputation were still three or four days' march from their desired goal, explanation began to be offered. The station had been often denied reinforcement. Work elsewhere had been, or at least had seemed, more pressing. The missionary had had to place almost all the work far and wide in the hands of native preachers and evangelists and biblewomen. There were no gothic churches built with New York money. There were only courts in Chinese houses with now and then a little hall or an old shrine. There were only Chinese Christians worshipping under their own ministers, supporting their own places of worship and schools and collecting and distributing their own beneficence. The hospital with its physician and nurses was the chief new gift of the Board, after decades in which there had been no European physician within a hundred and eighty miles. Only recently a young preacher had come out from America to hold up the hands of the veteran. The churches were, however, practically everywhere upon the responsibility of the Chinese. The year of the Boxer outbreak the consul had ordered all the missionaries down to the port. It would be too difficult to protect them in their far inland post. They were absent a year. Meantime there had been persecution and martyrdom of the Chinese Christians but the church work was nowhere suspended. The deputation met thirty of these Chinese pastors and evangelists in one conference and nineteen in another. The veteran seemed to feel that apology was due because so many of the foreign traits of foreign missionary work were absent. The deputation felt that they had seen as if in instantaneous photograph a most interesting stage in the naturalization of Christianity. They saw nothing more impressive in their journeyings than these assemblages of Dr. Walker's preachers in Shaowu. Considerable part of the observations in this paragraph upon phases of work, admirable, touching and humorous as well, were gathered from that highly characteristic field.

We may go to one of the missions at the stage which we are endeavouring to describe and it seems as if it were an

island in the midst of a great sea. It seems as if we had been in a moment transported to our own land, so much is the religion of the type with which we are familiar and so much is their religion the only point at which we, for the present, come into contact with the men, or at all events the point through which we come into contact with the rest of their lives. They rebuke us, for we realize that their religion is the whole of their life in a way in which we find it extremely difficult to make religion the whole of life in England or America. The breaking of caste in India, the social ostracism which has been meted out to converts in China, has brought it about that these adherents of an alien faith have often had in fact but few contacts save with the adherents of their new faith. This is all fast changing now. It has been so, however, in good measure in time past. It would be so in eminent degree of a convert from Mohammedanism at this moment in any country in the world. The ascendency of the new ideas and the separation from the old associations alike play their part. They used to create for the little Christian churches a kind of insularity which was in an invisible way a parallel to the isolation of Paton's New Hebrides. They put us in the position in which we understand the allusions in the church fathers to the church as to a ship in a wild sea, or the word in the New Testament scripture which compares the hope of salvation to Noah's ark. They created little realms of the Christian spirit in which the faith was everything and where as yet the foreign missionary ruled. There is something truly humbling in this readiness to follow the lightest word of the missionary even when obedience to that word might cost the convert very dear. It is all the more surprising when one considers how often the countries whence the missionaries came had been guilty of political or commercial aggression, of double dealing in diplomacy and of ruthlessness in face of the weakness of oriental governments. These deeds might have accounted for a very different attitude of Orientals toward any persons connected with the nation guilty of them. Sometimes indeed missionaries have been included in a general animosity against all foreigners whatsoever. In such a case they have often been of all foreigners the

most isolated and exposed. Upon rare occasions they have been guilty of adding their share to the general obloquy of things alien. Still more rarely they have, after indiscretion, called upon their consuls for protection. Too often they have endeavoured to extend the protection of foreign consuls to Christian Chinese even in matters only of property and as against the law of China. In the overwhelming majority of cases, however, they have stood apart from those things which have brought reprehension upon the foreigner or, as in the opium matter or the traffic in liquor, they have lost no chance to lift their voices against it. In the large the Indian, Chinese or African has distinguished unerringly between those who came to his country in their own interest and those who sought the interest of the peoples among whom they came. They know the difference between a Christian and a man who merely comes from some place in Christendom. Men at home sometimes say that Christianity is discredited by some more than ordinarily brutal and treacherous conduct on the part of some so-called Christian nation. These pleasant words about the discrediting of Christianity pass current among anti-missionary enthusiasts in the cool seclusion of the home lands. The "heathen" however know that it is not Christianity which is discredited. Christendom has been frequently discredited in its dealings with oriental nations, Christianity much less frequently. The Oriental has had abundant opportunity to observe that Christendom has at all times manifested too little Christianity and upon some occasions none. He leaves confusion of mind upon this point to those in western lands to whom opposition to missions is an undiscriminating cant. The "heathen" have not usually held missionaries responsible for things with which the latter had nothing to do. They have often forgiven national wrongs in light of an individual devotion which compelled their confidence and called out their wonder even as they do our own. In times and places of great and just resurgence of national spirit. they have accorded an influence to the foreign religious teacher and conceded the validity of the standards of life and conduct he imposed, in a manner which fairly reproaches us. They have identified themselves

with an alien faith in a manner which must ever be impressive and which admits of no explanation except that they found in the teaching that which so fully satisfied the deeper needs of their own inner life that they counted the loss of all besides as small. It has no explanation except that, upon reflection, and no doubt with an interval of wonderment, they concluded that many men and women both from Christendom and in Christendom must have no inner life worth mentioning and must be strangers to the Christian faith.

Every thoughtful observer must at some time have been set wondering how oriental converts could possibly repeat with such unction elaborate doctrinal statements couched in phrases of a philosophy which never had the slightest relation to the intellectual life of their own race. He must have queried how they could pour out their whole mood of worship through a European liturgy, or again express part of their conscientiousness through a puritanical aversion to liturgy. He must have asked himself how they could ever have been brought to observe Sunday in exactly the manner that they do, or take part in the revivalist's experience meeting or imitate the peculiarities and even the idiosyncrasies of a particular sect or missionary who had greatly influenced their lives. One has only to reflect that the Christianity which they have taken over is as yet an eminently concrete thing, and furthermore as yet an undifferentiated mass. Christianity is, not indeed exactly because of those things alluded to, but also not altogether in spite of them, the pearl of great price, the hidden treasure, the release and uplifting and glorifying of men's souls. If they want to wear frock coats, as do so many Hindus at a certain stage of their Christianization, or white ties, as do some Africans after they reach the stage where they wish to wear any, what of it? Even the laity in negro churches at the South affected white ties in the days when the negro ministry was the only aristocracy. What of it? One looks in those little companies of large-eyed Indians decorously taking part in a Sunday School or a prayer-meeting which is conducted exactly as it might be in Oberlin. He is filled with conflicting emotions. These are a touching tribute to the con-

quest which the mission has made. It is not however in this form that the further conquests of missions are going to be made. Some listen to the repeating of the Nicene Creed upon the lips of negroes at Zanzibar as if it were an event as natural as is the rising of the sun. To others it is a thing strange and suggestive almost beyond expression. Alien elements in thought and practice which the converts so naturally once took up, they must with equal naturalness some day again lay down. The little isolated almost purely ethical and spiritual communities must begin their journey into the world. The world begins its invasion of the church. The simplicity and idyllic character of the earliest situation, the patriarchal traits give place. The relation of the missionary as of a father with his children is at an end. One may rejoice in it or one may say it with a pang. One usually does both. Important it is only that we recognize the fact. Every mission has a history of the kind of which we have been speaking and of a longer or shorter duration behind it. In many missions, as in many families, there are those who would perpetuate the period of immaturity if they could. It is almost impossible not to look back upon that age of relatively simple problems as the golden age of missions. One is tempted to look back upon the boyhood of his son as the golden age of his relations with his father. The church has been fain to look back upon the period of apostolic fervour and simplicity, before the great amalgamation with the Græco-Roman world took place, as the golden age of the Christian church. We are very far from being pessimistical enough to believe that these really are the golden ages. Their simplicity and the more spiritual nature of their problems, as compared with the complexities and perplexities of later life, may make them appear to have been such. What is meant is merely that the beauty of childhood is past. The glory of adolescence and maturity have come. If, out of these lovely first stages of missions, the stage in which the church was everything, there have come, despite all the limitations which may easily be pointed out, Chinese and Japanese, Indian and African Christian men, who have been nurtured as in a family, the family of God, into the maturity of the life which is by the spirit of Christ,

that is enough. In the home lands too there are some of us who walk village streets and say perchance of some little church home of our souls in the days of our youth the old prophetic word: "This man was born there." God's pity on the man to whom no church ever filled that place. Missions exist primarily that in no lands churches may fail of which the best citizens and largest benefactors of those lands may some day say just that. Life will take care of all the changes which must come. None of all the changes which must come will necessarily produce the life. Therefore no changed conditions can ever do away with the need of the church. "For though ye have many instructors in Christ Jesus," said Paul, "yet have ye not many fathers. For by the grace of God I begot you in the Gospel." No prouder word was ever spoken. No more profound explication was ever given of the purpose and issue of a missionary's life. No more permanent charter was ever given to the instrumentality through which the primary purposes of such a life are fulfilled. That instrumentality is the church. To neither missionaries nor converts will the church always be everything, but it will always be something, the right thing in the right place in men's lives, when these have gone forth to be everything and render every service in their world.

We have spoken thus far of the significance which the church as the body of Christian believers has had and now has in missionary work and of the attitude of converts toward the church. We have spoken of it in a perfectly general way as the organization primarily of the religious life of the believers. What we have said would be true with but slight modifications of the propaganda of any church in any country. It is cheering to realize how much of the discussion can be conducted on this basis and how large is the element which is common to all denominations. It is not possible, however, to ignore questions pertaining to the form of government of the churches, to the varying views of the sacraments, to the theory of the ministry and other matters of the sort. It is not possible to deny that beyond the large area of agreement which has been thus far discussed there are these elements also of disagreement. It is not

possible to deny that these differences of opinion among Christians at home have played a considerable part in the propaganda for Christianity abroad. There are some Christians who do not regard these as minor matters. They have not taught their constituencies abroad to regard them as minor matters. To these minds that would seem a strange discussion of the church which should leave these matters altogether on one side. Even from the point of view of these lectures, which is not exactly ecclesiastical or sectarian, there are points here for brief discussion which ought not to be altogether passed by.

The little groups of converts which were later to grow into churches were at the beginning almost necessarily organized according to the view of the missionaries. Indeed, as was often the case in the early church also, the groups were so small and their interests were so simple that they needed but little organization. The letters of Francis Xavier and the records of the early work of the Jesuits in India show the emphasis upon the outward form and constitution of the church, upon its ritual of worship and especially upon the administration of its sacraments. This emphasis was perfectly natural to Xavier and the Catholicism of his time. It accorded with the theory of an institution within which alone was salvation and whose priesthood in an authoritative succession were the sole almoners of a miraculous grace. Not merely was this view congruous with the claims of the Roman Church. Incidentally also it was congruous in a general way with any view of religion which the Hindu subjects of the Jesuit propaganda were likely to take. Any other view would have been incongruous. These observations are as true to-day as they were four hundred years ago. It has lain almost in the nature of the case, at the inception of any missionary work, that those who function in the worship and are responsible for instruction are the foreign priests or ministers. The Catholic churches, Greek or Roman, are in high degree organizations of the clergy, the Anglican much less so. The Roman Church was that in the period of which we speak even more than is now the case. It was that even more naturally in a land of aliens and among a constituency

of children in the faith than in lands where it had long been part of a complex and more widely Christianized life. One feels this in a vast community like that which gathers round the cathedral in Peking to-day. You feel this in the Greek Catholic community gathered in Tokyo, largely the fruit of the life-work of the illustrious archimandrite recently gone to his reward. It is a community in which the laity have but a passive part. Yet Chinese and Japanese have been admitted to the priesthood in comparatively early stages of such work. It is because they have absorbed completely their teachers' views of the mysteries of grace, of the significance of worship and the powers of the sacrament, and finally because they have received at the hands of the missionaries the enduement which these themselves had received from the succession in which they stand and from the institution which they represent. It is safe to say that youth from among the converts in the churches of which we are now speaking have been raised to the priesthood more quickly than candidates in like case in Protestant communities have been advanced to the ministry. This is true because on the one hand there is less work of instruction demanded of the priest and less matured and intellectual understanding of the faith required. It is true again because in a hierarchical church with its discipline and gradations of authority there is less risk of the inconvenience which elsewhere arises from the placing of a newly-ordained representative of the converts upon the same level with those who have been his teachers. We come here upon a fact with reference to the ministry which is parallel to the one which we have already observed in another connection in reference to church membership. It is a curious fact but one of which the explanation is not difficult. The communions which stand most firmly for the very letter of an authoritative dogma, for the minutest point of ceremony, for a fixed traditional practice and an unchangeable function in the world, are yet easiest of approach from the side of the convert. This is true of baptism and confirmation. It is true also in general of ordination to the priesthood. They have made larger concessions to the notions and practices of those whom they wished to convert than have those churches which have made less boast of a

faith once delivered to the saints or of a practice from which it is treason to depart. They more easily make leaders of those who but recently joined the company of those led.

On the other hand, it might have seemed at first to be axiomatic that the most democratic of the Protestant bodies would find easiest the admission of converts to the ranks of its ministers and, as well, the concession of the equality of these ministers with the missionaries themselves in the settlement of questions of administration in the church. Reasons were hinted above for doubting whether this is so. Here too the explanation of the paradox lies close at hand. In churches like the Congregationalist, Baptist and Presbyterian all the ministers, once they are ordained, are on an equality. The native ministers are bound in any wider extension of the church to outnumber the missionaries. At very early stages power of momentous decisions is thus thrown into the hands of those who were but a little while ago pupils and almost, you might say, children of the mission. These facts often give the most high-minded of the missionaries pause. The expedient never seems to have worked well of giving the mission, properly so called, one organization and the indigenous churches another completely independent of the first. The line of demarcation of interests is too difficult to draw. When such a situation has arisen because of strife its effects have usually been unfortunate. On the other hand, those who have sacrificed most to lay the foundations of the Christian community can hardly be expected not to have moments of sinking of heart, as they see the control of that for which they have given their lives pass into the hands of those concerning whom they may very naturally ask: Are they yet ready for it? Correspondence has recently come to the offices of one of the boards which may perhaps be taken as typical. It touches the administration and the whole life of the churches and mission schools, as also of the industrial and relief work, of one of the stations in the central part of the province of Shantung in China. The Shantung man is reputed to be one of the sturdiest individuals in the world. Some of these pastors and laymen who wrote were peasants, hardly men of great light and leading in any matter as yet. Shantung is so frightfully

poor that even a very little money was an object of jealousy in a degree almost beyond belief. Not all of the documents, appeals and counter-appeals, arguments and expressions of dissent, were models of amenity, despite the fact that most Chinese are instinctively polite, at least until they feel that they are being pushed too far. This dispute had of course gone far or it never would have been heard of beyond the mission itself. There were some apparent misapprehensions as to fact. There was the throb of the revolution which is felt everywhere through China now. One could see that there would be great need of judgment and tact, of sympathy and patience and then patience and yet patience, on the part of missionaries who really had all the qualities of leadership. There was no evidence that there was a man of them who thought that there could be a step backward from the equality granted to all the ministers and the responsibility of all members toward which the mission and its churches are moving. The episode illustrates the thing which has often been said of the freest of the free churches in America and which might be said of democratic governments as well. It is that they are sometimes less good governments than they might be because they assume that men are on the average better than they yet are. Some of those who attended the Shanghai Conference in 1907 were amazed to find that it was not a conference of the Chinese churches in any sense whatsoever. It was a missionary conference exclusively. It was freely said that, even as things then stood in China, a conference of missionaries and Chinese ministry and laity, all together, would have been an indefinitely more effective thing. It was predicted that this would be the last conference of the old sort. The conferences of the year 1912-13 held at many points in China and in other nations as well, under the auspices of Mr Mott as the representative of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, have all been on the new basis. There has been no thought but that the indigenous churches must be represented in due proportion with the missions, and by their laity as well as by their clergy. The Continuation Committee has appointed co-operating committees from all lands and touching every phase of Christian work. The lists of these

committees show invariably the names of Christian leaders native to these lands.

No pains must be spared to avoid the repetition in other lands of a situation which for an interval in Japan gave pain to the right minded both of the missionaries and of the Japanese themselves. Every effort must be made to mitigate the asperities of a transition which must everywhere take place. That transition is in all likelihood felt in its own way even within the Catholic churches, although not made evident to all the world as is the way with the Protestants. In this sense we may say that the Japanese episode was typical. It shows again how Japan has led the way in all these questions. It has both suffered and inflicted upon others some of the pains which those who lead the way in new situations are rarely spared. The Christian movement in Japan showed in the decade of the eighties the popularity of everything foreign. Equally in that of the nineties it showed the unpopularity of everything foreign. It felt the effect of the resurgence of the national spirit, the revival of race consciousness. In the first period extraneous elements were absorbed and artificial relations established. In the second all these were sloughed off again. Those only who really cared for the Christian movement were retained within it. Those with whom it had been merely adventitious separated themselves from it. Foreigners connected with the Christian movement suffered more in this reaction than the best of them in any way deserved. Japanese connected with the movement developed however in this time of trial a reflection upon the essence of Christianity, upon its meaning and upon its adjustments to new surroundings, of a sort which they had surely never known before. Those were the times which made the hearts of the missionaries alternately heavy or light, according as they felt preponderantly the distress occasioned by the ready departure of their spiritual children from the mission standards, or else the joy of the fact that their children were now ceasing to be children and were asserting standards of their own. Those were the times when it was freely predicted that by the end of the century no more missionaries would be sent to Japan and there would be little which the elder missionaries on the ground could

do to fill out their years in the land to which they had given their youth. It was no longer the Japanese pastor who co-operated with the mission and was perhaps partially supported by the mission for his service in the indigenous church. The time came when the urban church supported not merely its own clergymen but also the Japanese evangelists, colporteurs and field preachers and rural missionaries and perhaps sent funds to the congregations of Christian Japanese among the labourers in Honolulu or Seattle. These were the times in which missionaries who had given themselves to the founding of the Japanese church had opportunity to decide whether they would co-operate with that church upon any terms which the Japanese imposed or else not co-operate at all. Here and there extremists said that no more missionaries from foreign countries were desired. It seemed to them that even the measurable keeping up of the old staff implied the failure to recognize racial and Christian equality and the fitness of Japanese to bear their own responsibilities. Not a few of the most conspicuous Japanese Christian leaders have spent a considerable part of their time and energy in the last few years in urging, especially upon America, that this view was not that of responsible or representative persons. They have urged that in view of the necessities of mature Christian leadership in Japan, in view of the concentration of their own forces largely in urban communities, in view of the inadequacy of their numbers or again of their resources to the problem presented by the rural districts and the remoter islands, missionaries of every sort and in numbers shall still be sent to them and the helpful connection with western Christendom maintained. This later and, as it would appear, juster contention of the Japanese themselves that foreign co-operation be maintained has hardly had time yet fully to wear down the impression of the earlier urgency that it should cease. Certainly no more convincing proof could be given of the development of independent Japanese Christianity, of the self-reliance of the churches, of the commanding ability of some of their ministers and lay leaders, and of the confidence which the Japanese repose in them. That confidence indeed the most far-sighted of the missionaries also

have shared. They have won golden opinions by their tact and patience no less than by their devotion. They have set the standard for that which those unfamiliar with the history might regard as a new kind of missionary. It has been suggested that the force of foreign co-operation might almost cease to be called missionary, so completely has its attitude and function changed. Such a change of name could aim only to avoid misunderstandings which by this time are taking care of themselves. On the other hand, it would seem to cut off the movement from a great tradition. It would imply that the purposes of the movement had changed, whereas in reality nothing but the conditions have changed. It is true, however, that the missionary forces in Japan will probably never again be large, and that they will never again do some things which they have done in the past. There is the more need that the force be always and only of the highest quality. Its function will be more or less restricted. Friend, counsellor, helpful coadjutor, resourceful supporter the missionary, with his touch with the churches in America or Europe, may still be. His great service may be to prevent the Japanese church from falling into a nationalism and provincialism, the polar opposite of that provincialism of the missions themselves, the danger of which has long since passed away. One of his functions may be to keep the Japanese Christian movement in touch with the outside world and the long past. Help in its own work Christian Japan surely needs, when one remembers that the Protestant and Anglican communicants are as yet only a little over two in a thousand of the total population, and the Catholic bodies together only a little larger. Such help, whether with men or with money, the churches in America and Europe which have fostered missionary work in Japan in time past are more than glad to continue to render.

The paragraph on church membership and the ministry will have suggested the direction of the only comment which it is necessary to offer upon questions of church organization in general and of the sacraments in particular. Each one of the Christian churches engaged in missionary work has ordained chosen men from among its converts in the new

lands to the duties of the priesthood and the sacred privilege of the ministry. It has ordained them or consecrated them to this office according to its own rites and imparted to them its own views of the nature of the office. It has conferred upon them the powers of that ministry according to its own ecclesiastical theory and revered tradition. The Catholic churches, as we have seen, proceeded to the confirmation of clergy more easily than did the Protestants. They confer upon them a grace which differentiates them from their fellow-converts in far higher degree than the Protestant would admit. Yet the problems which arise for the priesthood at this point are far less complex and difficult than the corresponding questions which beset the Protestants. The priesthood thus endowed with traditional powers, works for the perpetuation of a system and is committed to the maintenance of an order of things in a manner for which the Protestant ministry has no parallel. The priest works for the conservation of tradition. He repeats the rites which he is privileged to perform. He would hand on the faith and practice of his church in the integrity with which it has been handed down to him. Exactly in the proportion in which religion is an isolated area in life it may remain an unchanged area. It tends to pass even from one nation to another people and to be relatively unmodified by the lapse of time as well as by all its wide dissemination in space. Exactly the same observation may be made in Europe. The monks at Athos quarrel. The various branches of the Greek church find it difficult to tolerate one another. Their dissensions however touch points which arrayed parties and divided communions centuries or a millennium ago. Only in slight degree do their divergences relate to the application of Christianity to living problems in the world of to-day. The Roman Church has its modernist movement. It has devoted sons who seek to find the harmony of faith with the critical and scientific and social movements of our times. They do this not because they do not love the church, but exactly because they do love it profoundly. The church treats them in somewhat step-motherly fashion. The men who seek to alter the course of the church in their own lands or to mark out a new path for it in a mission field are viewed

with disfavour. They are not usually promoted to places of influence. The encyclicals are all on the side of the condemnation of the modern, whether in faith or life. They are on the side of the assertion of the changelessness of religion. One goes into a Franciscan chapel in the Holy Land and kneeling in the stillness he might easily think himself in Rome. There is something wonderfully imposing in this timelessness of the Church of Rome and in the fact that it is the same in every land upon which the sun rises. You meet a Japanese Roman priest and talk with him in the leisure of a long voyage. Very possibly he is a thoroughly cultivated man. All your points of contact with him are exactly what they would be had you met him in Paris. It is not easy to draw him out as to what, of all the many new and changing things which are necessary in Japan, his church is doing for the people and what this new and mobile people is doing to his church. The charities and philanthropies which are often much in evidence have the usual ecclesiastical air with which you have been familiar in Belgium or Bavaria. The instruction in the seminary for the priests covers the familiar disciplines in the conventional way which has so long produced priests at Saint Sulpice. The church is an island. It seems always to be the same island whatever seas you cross to get to it It has crossed those seas before you. It is the same island which you left behind you. There is something very sweet and restful about its being so. He must have little sensitiveness to certain values in religion who does not feel this, whether he wanders into a shack in Alaska, a log cabin chapel in the Hudson Bay country or a neat little stucco building on a side street in Tunis. It rescues men from life. Even all its manifold charities and selfless ministrations to the world's sorrow and pain are not in the least degree incongruous with this impression of the changeless institution which rescues men from life.

How different is the impression of the Protestant ministry and churches. It is not but that the Protestant bodies too had each and all of them, at the beginning of the period of missions, full faith in the unchanging divine character and fixed obligation of their own statements of dogma. How-

ever these churches may have dissented from Rome or Constantinople or again even from Canterbury, they have been as confident of the exclusive rightfulness of their own form of organization and government and of their own ritual or worship as ever any Roman could be. We have but to remind ourselves with what fervour devout souls among the Lutherans have stood and even now stand for the last letter of Lutheranism in Eastern Asia Minor or the heart of Africa. Agreements are made in comity only to be broken in conscientiousness. The parties have come to feel that it was treason ever to have made such agreements, therefore it is virtue or at least necessity to break them. One has only to recall the certitude of the Puritan concerning his order or, in former days at least, of the Scottish Presbyterian concerning his or of the Anglican concerning his, to forecast what, save as modified by other causes, the contentions of their respective adherents in foreign lands must needs have been. They were very different orders and conflicting contentions to be sure. But then that was true in Europe and America. It would be not less true in Asia, where there were few if any who knew the historic origin of these differences or had seen the other side of the shield. Almost they might seem to an outsider to be mutually exclusive positions and mutually destructive arguments which were used in the defence of the respective systems. This never prevented the several bodies of their adherents from finding sanction for all of their tenets in one scripture and making these tenets binding upon every soul in the name of scripture. A missionary is liable at times to be a zealot. It is zeal which makes him a missionary. A type of experience has sometimes been demanded by him as invariable. His interpretations of scripture have been thought by him infallible. He hardly took them for interpretations, no matter how individual they were. He believed them to be inspirations. The Protestant diversity is fairly bewildering even here in the home lands. How much more confusing and misleading and discouraging must it have been on foreign shores. The worst days of denominational rivalries are indeed over. Men are ashamed of the waste which they involved and the lamentable spectacle

which they presented. The time has gone by when, on any large scale, Christian fellowship is not accorded to those who have not been baptized in a particular way. It is the more deplorable that exactly upon the point of the eucharist the unedifying controversy should have broken out afresh. It has broken out on the side of those from whom better things were to be expected. From the first it could hardly be doubted what the deliverance of the highest authorities of the Church of England would be. That decision, while it reflects the actual state of the case, that there is no agreement within the Church of England itself as to the abstract view of the sacrament, yet leaves the practice of missionaries in the field to be guided by the spirit of brotherliness and co-operation, by the spirit of consecration to the large ends which the missionary endeavour has in view. No solution except that which represents the actual facts in the missionary world will be accepted. There is no prospect that all Christians will ever come to one view of the sacrament. There is no need that they should. But to say that those who hold different theories of the communion cannot commune together is preposterous. It hardly admits of doubt that the whole miserable episode will redound to the unifying of the endeavours of Christian men in the whole missionary world as scarcely any other event could have done.

It is not, however, at this point of tradition alone that the Protestant churches differ from their great historic rivals. It is not merely with reference to their past. It is as much or even more with reference to their present that they are in contrast. It is in respect of their relation to the world and of their apprehension of the purpose of their being in the world. It is in reference to their view of the effect of the world upon the church. In the view which comes more and more to prevail in those fragmentary bodies which together constitute the Protestant Church, the aim of religion is not to rescue men from the world. It is to rescue men in the world. It is to rescue the world through the men. It is this thought which has done more than anything else to relegate denominational differences to the background and to make the contentions of ecclesiastics properly ridiculous. The church is not an island. It is not an ark of safety. It is

not a walled town. It is, in one way of looking at it and in its furthest aim and ideal, the world itself. It is at any given moment the body of men and women who are possessed by a certain characteristic spirit. The very aim however of their being possessed of that spirit is that all other men may be possessed by the same spirit. The aim of having that spirit manifested in some relations in life is that some day it may be manifest in all. The purpose of the layman in asking admission to the church, as of the minister in setting about his calling, is not that he may do what all Christians always and everywhere have done, or say what they have said, but that he may do that which ought now to be done to make his little circle, his nation, his race and the whole world truly Christian. This is the reason why those pastors of whom we were speaking in China and Japan, dissented so readily from their preceptors in Christianity and threatened to depart or actually have departed from the traditions of the denomination to which at the first they naturally belonged. This is the reason why, as over against the admirable dignity and unity of the Roman Church, these Protestant churches convey the impression of greatest possible diversity and of expending their vitality upon every imaginable problem. At their worst they often seem to the unbiassed observer to have lost any profounder sense as to what their identical business is. This is true both at home and abroad. At their best, on the contrary, they make the impression of initiative and originality, of freedom and fearlessness and indefinite resourcefulness, of unbounded sympathy. They make the impression of being destined to play a large part in the creation of a new Christendom in those portions of the world to which Christianity has been newly extended, a Christendom many of whose traits neither they nor we can forecast. This is the reason why we have so often the rather troubled sense that the human element is uppermost, that errors are being made and steps taken which will have to be retraced. This impression may not even be a mistaken one. Yet through all we have the confidence that this state of things is inevitable in the divine plan for the permeation of the world in all aspects of its life by the spirit of the gospel of God in the man Jesus Christ,

and through the men whom he has called out of every nation and kindred and tongue to be his instruments in this work.

After all, it comes down to a single question at the last, does it not—What is Christianity? If we can answer that, we can answer the question as to what are dogmas and rituals, what are forms of organization and theories of the sacraments? What is Christianity? With the pietists and evangelicals who inaugurated the modern missionary movement, with the revivalists and others who have had large share in continuing it, there can be no doubt what Christianity was. There can be no doubt that it was primarily a personal and inner relation of the individual soul to the God whom Jesus revealed and to Jesus as the Revealer and Saviour. Secondarily, it was all that series of facts and phenomena in which the life of believers, in their communion one with another and with their Lord and Master, found expression. It was doctrine, the formulation of the truth which the church had framed. It was worship, the rites and ceremonies, but above all the sacraments, wherein the divine grace was symbolized and the divine gifts ever more renewed to men. It was the law of an institution with its guarantee of order and of the conservation of sacred principles. It was discipline of life in the light of the eternal. It was a teaching, an inspiration, a guidance of the soul. It was worship in the spirit and according to a tradition august in itself and about which gathered much of touching association. It was the fellowship of endeavour of those to whom life in this world was, if need be, nothing and eternity was all. This was Christianity as the pietist would have phrased it, and *mutatis mutandis*, as the Roman Catholic would have phrased it too, only he would have inverted the order. He would have claimed that the latter considerations, the ecclesiastical aspects of the matter, were the primary aspects. The individual experience of life in God came only by connection with the community of Christian men. The church was the organ and instrumentality of the continuing grace of God among men, the medium of revelation, the depository of the truth and the authoritative guide in the divine life. To spread the church was to mediate salvation. Through

her men came to God and were guided out of darkness and error and weakness into manhood complete in Christ.

To the mind of the one as truly as to that of the other assent to the doctrines of the church, conformity to its practices, obedience to its discipline, renunciation of all other religions, would have been regarded as the evidence of the acceptance of Christianity. The growth of the church would have been esteemed the only practical measure of the spread of Christianity. That it is a measure of somewhat uncertain value is clear from all that we have been saying. Yet it was the only measure which either would have known well how to apply. The Catholic Church with its grand sense of the significance of the church as institution, with its developed apparatus for dealing with the problems of the tutelage of men and races, with its sense of the organic nature of the families and spiritual communities of men, with room within itself for every degree of immaturity, has admitted to its communion those who had as yet separated themselves but a little way from the old life to which they belonged and travelled but a very little distance on the road toward Christian perfection. It thought of the church as the Father's house, the home of the soul, and esteemed that the children of the faith best grew up within that home. They should not be kept waiting outside the house until they are nearly adult. It was too problematical whether they then would wish to come in. It was certain that they would have lost much in the nurture of the Christian life. How easy it is to state this in the light of its own great and wonderful truth. The Protestants with perhaps a greater emphasis upon the intellectual element in faith, certainly with a larger stress upon the individualistic element in life, with a profounder concern for the moral consequences of belief, has characteristically kept its converts more anxiously at a distance. It has viewed the church as composed more exclusively of those of a maturer Christian grace. It has prevailingly viewed the church as a company of the spiritually adult. In doing so it has run some risk of exacting that which hardly belongs to the vital elements of faith.

Everyone knows that, not alone in the mission field but

also in Christendom, these two theories stand the one over against the other. The statistics of the one group of churches are only with difficulty comparable with the statistics of the other because of this radical difference in basis from which they are taken. We have sought to portray each view in the sympathetic language which would naturally be used by one of its own adherents. It is clear that each has a truth on its side. Each is trying to conserve a Christian ideal. The point to be seized however is evident: The one, on the line of its invasion of the world, puts its boundary of the church much further out than does its rival. The one instinctively includes, the other as instinctively excludes, many who are as yet the representatives of but a partial prevalence of the Christian spirit. Yet the difference is, after all, only a difference in degree. It is a difference as to where the line falls between church and world. It is not a question as to whether there is any such line. It is not a question whether we ought to call all of that which is within the church Christian and that which is beyond the church not Christian. At least it is contended that we ought to strive so to fashion the church that this assertion could be verified. So much is for both parties, and that both at home and abroad, made out. Yet that which is all the time emerging in this discussion is that this boundary is an elusive one. It corresponds to nothing. It is a vanishing distinction. The spread of the church, this church or that, the work of a mission from decade to decade—how shall we make up any statement as to this, save by saying, that so many members have been admitted to communion, there are so many catechumens, there are so many pupils in schools conducted by the mission, so many patients have been treated by the missionary doctor. We all know that this is where we must begin. We all know that this is where we must not end. We all know that a vast number of issues in national and social and personal life, both abroad and at home, are the direct or indirect result of the dissemination of the Christian spirit. They are aspects of the Christianization of life. They are parts of the domestication of Christianity in the world, of the assimilation of the world to Christianity, of

the naturalization of Christianity in alien lands. These are all parts of the process by which Christianity is ceasing to be exotic and is becoming indigenous in all lands. These wider aspects of Christianization have been the objects of endeavour of some to whom the church of Christ was most dear. They have also been, and in no inconsiderable part, the objects of endeavour of many to whom the church was not dear at all and Christianity was very doubtful. This we cannot deny and should be ashamed of wishing to deny. What we wish to assert is that in some large sense they are all parts of the naturalization of Christianity. It is precisely the nineteenth century which has seen greatest gain in this particular phase of the naturalization. We do not for a moment minimize the transcendental answer to the question: What is Christianity? We have not failed to recognize the church as the bearer of Christianity in the world. We do not deny that the most intimate and essential consequence of the Christian movement abroad as at home is the growth of the church. We are forced however to say that by no means the only index of the spread of Christianity is the growth of the church. Christianization is a process which does not take place within one sphere of the life of man alone. It is not merely a process ecclesiastical. It is not solely a process which men would conventionally call religious. It is a movement of which the individual experience of the divine grace is the secret, of which the church is the hearthstone and centre, but of which the whole life of man is the range and scope. The world is the object of redemption. More than we realize, what we call the world is also the active subject under God in the redemptive process. Forces of the world work together with the spirit in the church to bring about a redemption of every aspect of man's life here in this world, from which no man of all the humanity shall be shut out. The gifts of a civilization really permeated by the spirit of Christ we aspire to confer upon all men. Greater however than those gifts is that spirit. That too, and with even greater enthusiasm and consecration, we would seek to confer. But the real bestower of that gift is God himself. For its bestowal we can only create the conditions

and prepare the way. Furthermore the real recipient is the individual soul. By the co-operation of the individual will in the resolute shaping of the personal life, by this only can the purpose of God in the relation of the redeemed soul to its own world be fulfilled. Even the Christian tenet of immortality bears to this faith of world redemption no merely external relation. For even immortality is not thought of as a mere conferment and bestowal upon those upon whom in the mystery of God's will it is to be bestowed. It is the eternal continuance of the life by the good upon which men have entered already here in time. It is the eternal continuance of those who have entered upon that life by the good.

LECTURE VIII

DOCTRINE AND LIFE

In the preceding chapter we spoke of the nature and results of the Christian propaganda in foreign lands. We have said that its immediate address was to individuals and its direct effect was the formation of groups of adherents of the new faith. To these new adherents the faith tended to become the organizing principle of their entire life. This was the more true because conversion had often occasioned a breach in the convert's relation to the life about him. It set up new standards. Besides, the new life did not at first pass beyond the imitative stage in which the influence of the missionary was supreme. No more beautiful examples can be found of the reality and simplicity of the Christian religion than in some of these missionary churches in their earliest stage. We observed how naturally the form and organization of the church, or rather churches, as these exist in the West, became the pattern of those raised up in the East. We noted how inevitably the rites of worship followed the tradition of those observed in the West. Priesthood and ministry were at first exercised exclusively by men who were still actually in official relation to religious institutions of the West. The influence of western ecclesiastical organizations would therefore naturally have been great, even in those communions in which the church was viewed as but the association of believers and in which salvation acknowledgedly depends upon the direct relation of the individual soul to God through Christ. It would be still greater in those communions in which the church, with its properly ordained clergy and its duly administered sacraments, was the actual instrumentality of salvation and the believer's approach to God was through the church alone. For obvious reasons churches holding the latter

view present greater resistance to the process of naturalization in new lands. Yet also exactly because of their more efficient organization they can make minor and superficial concessions at which the freer churches occasionally pause. There is no more flexible institution in the world than the Roman Church within the area within which it is flexible. There is no organization concerning which it is more fatuous to say that even in very grave matters it cannot and will not adapt itself to new conditions. It will adapt itself to new conditions when such concession becomes necessary. Its adaptation often takes place in very unobtrusive fashion so that the intelligent observer is sometimes surprised to see how far the change has gone. It never commends the principle of change as we are doing in these lectures. Rather it affirms the principle of unchangeableness and changes nevertheless. For the Protestant bodies on the other hand, the moment we get beyond the area of superficial things, this power and duty of adaptation is recognized. It is joyfully asserted. We do not deny that Protestants also have occasionally viewed their own organization, their rites and dogmas from the Catholic point of view. Some of these, despite Protestant inheritance, logic has carried to the recognition that they are Catholics only not in connection with either the Roman or Greek Churches. Others again, more Protestant than Protestants, have insisted upon one and another of the various details magnified by the sects, as if these had been given in a pattern from which true Christianity never could depart. It is illuminating to observe that it is oftenest upon matters of detail that such minds do insist. In the large, however, the exigencies of their work have carried the Protestant missions far, not merely in the direction of unity among themselves but also in the direction of those nationalizations and naturalizations of their institution and of its ministry to the life and mind of other peoples of which we have been speaking. The process has of course gone much further in some lands than in others. It is more evident in the work of some denominations than of others.

We come in the lecture of to-day to make parallel

assertions in the realm of doctrine and in the application of Christianity to life. We shall have in this lecture to reflect upon actual and possible changes in doctrine and dogma, changes, that is, in the statement of faith which are the counterpart of those just noted in the area of organization and church life. Doctrine is the theory of religion. Dogma is that part of doctrine which has been officially declared by the authorities of particular churches to be the theory about religion which those who belong to these churches ought to hold. Both doctrine and dogma are the result of reflection, primarily the reflection of a given age and race, of a given church or of leaders in that church, upon the religious experience and the facts of the religious consciousness. Dogma is such reflection formally authorized and ordered to be perpetuated. Doctrine and dogma are thought about religion, but doctrine is still living thought. Dogma is crystallized, finished, immobile thought. Doctrine is usually conscious of its present relation to history. Dogma is fain to declare that it has no such relation. Primary for Christians is of course Christ's thought about religion and the apostles' thought, the thoughts vouchsafed to them in God's revelation of himself within their souls. Similarly we speak of the doctrines of the apologists, the doctrines of the church fathers and of the great theologians of the Middle Age. We speak of the doctrines of the school-men and of the reformers and of the classic age of Protestantism. When we speak however of the dogma of the church we have added another notion. We have meant to indicate the fact that some of all of these various doctrines, at first put forth by individuals, have now been declared authoritative by the church or churches. They have been enunciated as the statements of truth upon which the church has always stood and from which it will never depart. We are thinking of it then as doctrine which has become a sacred tradition, a formula of faith assent to which is usually demanded of those who would belong to a particular church.

Not all men think clearly at this point. They still identify the truth which makes them Christians with statements of truth which have been made by revered men or put forth by

churches as the truth of Christianity. More and more however men in our generation have learned to distinguish between religion and the statement of religion. They understand the nature of doctrine. They realize that doctrine and dogma are the fruit of reflection. Every statement of faith is drawn in part indeed from the great objects of faith which have been revealed to us, God, redemption and immortality. Every such statement bears however besides, the unconscious mark of those who made it. It gives evidence of their time and place and circumstance, of their character and spiritual quality. There is an infinitely precious personal quality of the revelation in Jesus which warrants us in saying that it was in the human spirit of the Nazarene that God once in time and in incomparable fashion made himself manifest. Similarly there is a very intense personal quality about everything that Paul ever wrote, which does not in the least forbid us to say that it was an inspired man who thus wrote. The recognition of this fact alters our notion of inspiration. It alters our doctrine of revelation. It makes us see that it is not revelation but the record of revelation which the New Testament documents constitute. The revelation was in the personality of Jesus. It was in the experience of those upon whom the Spirit came. The Nicene Creed is what it is because it was produced when and as it was produced. Augustine wrote as he did because he was Augustine. God spoke to him and he still speaks to us through Augustine, a living man with a hot heart and a strange and pathetic and uplifting history. The law is universal. There is no creed or theology which is not what it is in part because of the history which entered into its making. That history may have been the history of individuals. Or it may have been the history of whole races, of whole branches of the Christian church, of whole ages of the Christian life. The subject of the history of doctrine has been rewritten in our own times from this point of view. It has become one of the most impressive chapters in the history of thought. For on one side it is simply that. It is the history of human thought about things Christian and divine. It is that just as truly

as, on the other side, it is the record of God's progressive giving of himself to men and of the application of that which God has given of himself in revelation to new conditions in the thought and life of the world. Doctrine is dynamic, not static. It is mobile, not stationary. It has been the fashion in certain circles to deride doctrine. It has been urged that we should seek a Christianity which is without doctrine. No men however can be without doctrine except those who are without thoughts concerning religion. Those who really think concerning religion are those who are least likely to repeat in lifeless way that which they have been told that other men have thought.

When Hampden delivered his Bampton Lectures in Oxford in 1832 he set forth within narrow limits the general view which we have here been dealing with. He applied the thesis only in the particular relation of the scholastic philosophy to the theology of the Middle Age. His contention was epoch making. Newman was entirely right from his own point of view in declaring that Hampden's principle, once admitted, would alter our view of every creed and of every theology whatsoever. Harnack has only done in our day on a universal scale that which Hampden did within a limited sphere. Few however any longer doubt that the theology which Catholics and Protestants alike inherit has all the marks of the naturalization of that reform of prophetic Judaism which Jesus inaugurated within the areas of Greek culture and under the Roman State. No one denies that our Christianity is characteristically Aryan and not Semitic. It is western in the form of its reflection and in its application to life. For most of us Protestants it has become in addition a Teutonic and Saxon religion. Yet it was an Asiatic religion at the first. When it goes back to Asia, must it not become Asiatic again in order that it may reach Asiatics? Must it not in Paul's phrase become all things to all men in order that it may save some? This is only to assert that that which has happened to Christianity in the past is that which must happen to it also in the time to come. One who knows the history of thought knows that all our great Christian

creeds and systems of theology have followed the lines of ordered reflection laid down by Plato. Besides our thoughts concerning religion we think all our other thoughts on lines laid down by Plato, and modified only by certain well-known western thinkers since Plato, most of all by Kant. What however does the Hindu know about Plato or Kant? What does the Chinese man know of them? Or what does he need to know? The cultivated man among them may learn sometimes to think in these terms as he becomes familiar with the whole life of the West. The common man would never think in these terms, save for a brief time on the particular topic of the Christian religion and so long as he was under the overpowering influence of the foreign missionary. And even concerning that topic the most accurate thing to say would be that he would merely think that he thus thought. Christianity will never mean what it should mean to China until common men embrace it and think freely about it in its relation to all the other things of which they think, in the natural way of Chinese men. They have a mode of reflection, a background in the life of the mind of the race, which is as instinctive with them as it appears remote and unnatural to us. It is the philosophy of their race. When they think powerfully and freely concerning Christianity they will think in terms of that philosophy. It is only within the lifetime of men now living that these ideas concerning the doctrines and dogmas of Christianity have become widely familiar in Christian lands. The discovery and appreciation of them is a chapter in the intellectual history of our race. It is easy to see at what advantage the candid holding of such views puts us with reference to the Christian movement among other races. It is a factor which ought to help us indefinitely in interpreting that movement. It ought to enable us to take wise part in aid of other races in the changes which they face. It ought to prevent our unreasonable insistence upon things which are non-essential. It ought to save us from even unwittingly bewildering and hindering the men whom we most desire to help. This is one of the points at which the most

assured results of modern learning ought to be most helpful in the propaganda for the Christian faith.

We might go even further and say that the considerations named not merely alter our view of the nature of doctrine, they tend to diminish the stress which has often been laid upon doctrine, as if it were almost the only thing in Christian teaching which is of consequence. These considerations do away with an exclusiveness of emphasis upon doctrine which has been misleading and injurious. They make us see that doctrine, the thoughts which we have about religion, are only one phase, the intellectual phase, of the religious life. Real religion expresses itself in other ways besides this, although the religion of cultivated people will naturally express itself also in this way. Religion has often been treated as if it were mainly a matter of doctrine. Much of Christian history makes the impression that the adherents of Christianity themselves have held that the matter of being a Christian at all was chiefly a question of the formal beliefs to which a man gave his assent. The so-called Athanasian Creed goes the length of saying in its opening sentence, "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith," and in its closing sentence it declares, "Except a man believe this faithfully he cannot be saved." If it could thus be authoritatively asserted that men were permitted to approach God or else altogether turned away from God, only on the basis of assent to extremely difficult metaphysical propositions, what wonder is it if, even down to our own times, men have been thrust out of particular churches because they had ceased to hold the precise views which those at the moment in power in those churches declared to be requisite? Men have been admitted to the churches upon that which bore the semblance at least of mere assent to propositions. Men in great numbers stand aloof from the churches in our own lands to-day, because they cannot give assent to propositions which the church either does hold or is supposed to hold. Christianity has had no monopoly of this evil. Men are classed as adherents of Islam or of Buddhism because of certain tenets which they hold. This tendency to apprehend religions almost

wholly from the point of view of their theoretical conceptions is a very ancient one. It is the tendency to judge religions by the kind of the philosophy of the universe which they furnish. It is the evaporation of religion until nothing but the intellectual element is left. It is the assumption that nothing but the intellectual in religion counts, that feeling and conduct are of less consequence. We sometimes say that this vicious process by which religion was reduced to metaphysics was an evil effect upon Christianity of its contact with the Greek spirit. In that spirit the intellectual element had always largely preponderated. There is a measure of truth in this. Neoplatonism was a quest of salvation by the process of thought. It was not expected that any would be saved except the intellectuals. Hellenic Christianity certainly bore far too largely this cast. It is this emphasis which appears in the very title of the Holy Orthodox Church. It must not be forgotten that Jesus' bitter censure of the scribes in his day revealed the fact that Judaism also had degenerated in this direction. Stress was laid upon certain dogmas which a man must hold. If he held these with sufficient tenacity he might be pardoned much besides. What else of religion was left was mainly legalism and ceremonialism which also Jesus judged to be poor substitutes for religion.

It is therefore hardly surprising that Christianity, as its first enthusiasm waned, became transformed in considerable measure from a life into a metaphysic. It came to be measured not so much by what men did as by that which they thought, or worse still, by that which they were able to repeat of that which other men had thought. This process of the loss of Christianity, just at the time when the church as institution came to wield the greatest influence in the world, has been much dwelt upon by historians of late. This deflection of what had been a sound vital influence into mere intellectualism, this gauging of all things by creed and not, as in Christ, by deed and love has been deplored. It has been described as the first great heresy, although it was the movement out of which arose the persecutions of all the other heresies. That which we are here concerned to note is, however, that Christianity is

not alone in having pursued this downward course. In many other religions this perversion has been manifest. Every religion which has had currency among peoples of any intellectual life has tended to find expression far too much in terms of thought. It is so much easier to think something than to be something. Mohammedanism became largely a system of dogma of the most rigid sort. In fact Mohammedanism was largely dogma from the beginning, because it stood over against both a Christianity and a Judaism in which dogma had assumed the first place. The infidel was one who dissented from true dogma. The conflicts between the various sects of Mohammedanism have been and still are largely upon the basis of differences of opinion as to dogma. At this point they offer a close parallel to the animosities of Christian sects. Buddhism was a teaching. Brahmanism exalts those who are supposed to have insight into divine truths, asking often far too little as to the effect which these truths have had or have failed to have upon men's lives.

Surely these lectures will have made plain how large a thing religion in our view is. We should be far from identifying the enlargement of the circle of those who assent never so vehemently to Christian dogma with the spread of the Christian faith. On the other hand, insistence upon a so-called religious life which is to be without any creed may be quite as utterly a fanaticism as is the harping upon creeds. The relation of religious thought to religion and life is very simple. It is so simple that you would not think that men could have erred so often concerning it. The Christian impulse must find its expression in the realm of thought also, as well as in that of feeling and conduct, supposing that one lives the life of the mind at all. Even those who do not live the life of the mind for themselves imbibe a theory and system of life from others who have thought. There is an intellectual basis of conduct, and a philosophical interpretation of life from the religious point of view, which even those possess who are unconscious of its possession. In fact those who are thus unconscious might fairly be said to be possessed by this philosophy. He who has the grand experience which

religion is must reflect upon it, either in his own terms or in the terms of someone else. There is moreover a world of thought into which the thoughts about religion must fit, unless indeed we attempt to wall off our religious thoughts from all our other thoughts. Life is a whole. We do not safely live with our religion in a watertight compartment. He who would divorce religion from the intellectual life degrades religion and impoverishes the intellect. The system of thoughts about religion, if it is a living system, must necessarily be congruous with the living system of thought about all things besides. The creeds of the Middle Age did actually prevent for a time the rise of the sciences. When later, in spite of everything, the sciences had arisen, the slowness of the adjustment of religion to the sciences caused religion to appear to many earnest men to be the one theme of which a thoughtful and free mind could make nothing. To such a mind it was an object unworthy of attention. No religion can be without doctrine. No religion can continue in well-being with a doctrine which has completely lost relation to the natural thoughts of men upon other themes.

Changes in Christian theology as it has traditionally prevailed in the West have taken place on a great scale among us within the last two generations. Some of these changes are such as to make the presentation of Christianity easier to men of the East. There may be yet greater alterations in Christian theology when the matured contribution of the East toward the understanding of Christianity begins to make itself felt. Exactly in proportion as we are led to divest ourselves of our provincialism, to see Christianity in its simplicity and greatness and adaptability, do we interpret it in terms which are universal and enhance its appeal to universal humanity. Our own claim is that Christianity is for all men, that it is a universal religion. We must not forget however that, as a matter of fact, the only part of Christendom which has thus far in any larger way assisted in bringing Christianity to the men of the East is that portion of the West whose interpretation of Christianity has the most pronounced occidental traits. The contrast between the view of religion which is often presented by

the missionaries and that which would be instinctive with the oriental man is thus at its acutest.

There is a striking distinction to which few who have listened to missionary preaching in the Orient can have failed to be sensitive. There are missionaries who present their message with a fluent use of the vernacular speech, yet their thoughts are utterly foreign to those of the audience whom they address. Their speech is the speech of India, but the thoughts are those of an evangelical revival meeting in England or America. Their thoughts are those of their own denomination, or they are those which have had intimate relation to the development of their own religious life. They seem never to have given a moment's consideration to the question whether these thoughts are possible to the men whom they are addressing or whether, even if possible, they are not unnecessarily remote and difficult. The suggestion that they should, so to say, change the language of their thought as well as that of their utterance would perhaps hardly have been understood by them. Perhaps they would have considered it treasonable. Of all the elements in the training of the missionary, his training to know the mind of the people to whom he goes is probably the most difficult. The knowledge of a language is only one of the gateways to the knowledge of the mind of a people. Without the first the second is almost impossible. Yet with the former the latter is not always assured. The actual ideas uttered by the speaker in question may reveal that he has stood still since he has left his own country, perhaps he has even stood still since his own youth, while in the mastery of the mere vehicle of utterance he has taken long steps toward the people among whom he works. The people among whom he works are taking long steps in the world movement of modern thought. When it is enjoined upon such a man to speak simply he harks back to the view of religion which he entertained before he began to think. What we see here is however only the same breach which we often perceive in home lands between what are supposed to be thoughts about the gospel and all the other thoughts of the congregations to which they

are addressed. Nothing is commoner than to hear eighteenth century revivalism, seventeenth century Calvinism, or even hopeless mediævalism offered in all seriousness as the gospel to men all of whose other thoughts are set in the key of the doctrine of evolution, of a monistic philosophy, of history and criticism and of the social enthusiasms of the opening of the twentieth century. Then perhaps we wonder why this which calls itself simple gospel does not lay hold upon the thoughts of men who think or, to put it more pungently, why it does appeal so powerfully to people who do not think, or at all events do not think upon this theme.

We need not imagine that Christendom alone affords this spectacle. India presents it on a vast scale. India has been perhaps more completely obsessed than has any portion of Christendom, at any time, with the mistaken notion that religion is doctrine, with the hallucination of salvation by right opinion. The Indians are pre-eminently an intellectual people. The very ideal of life for the Indian has always been the life of thought. It has not been the life of action, as has been the case prevailingly with the man of the West. Religion has never been organized in India as it has in the West. There has never been either in Brahmanism or in Buddhism an institution even remotely comparable to that which the Roman Church was to Europe in the days of its power. You may test that by attempting to use the phrase, the Brahman Church, the Buddhist Church. The phrases correspond to nothing. These faiths have had practically no machinery for enforcing orthodoxy. In extraordinary degree however the weight of popular sentiment has done this and it has been orthodoxy, religious opinion as such, which has been enforced. It was doctrine with which the people were concerned, although there was no force but that of public sentiment to elevate it to dogma. There have been heresies without end, reforming doctrines without number, societies to propagate this or that new doctrine, formed and dissolved again. Always however it was doctrine about which the contest turned. There have been persecutions about

doctrine, but always they have been popular persecutions, not plans of an institution like those of the Inquisition. With incredible vitality Hinduism has absorbed a thousand reformers and their doctrines back into itself again. Christianity, reduced by the Greeks to opinion and organized by the Romans into the basis of a supremely powerful state, was more formidable to the particular reformer with his truth or error. It has however never been half so effective in devouring all reform into itself again, as has this impalpable popular force of Hinduism working on behalf of a religion which was never anything but a doctrine with certain related ceremonies. An Indian writer, Har Dyal, writes thus bitterly: "Metaphysic has been the curse of India. It has blighted her history and compassed her ruin. It has converted her great men into miserable quibblers and led them off into useless channels of inquiry and effort. It has been the dangerous will-o'-the-wisp of the Indian intellect during many centuries. It has elevated sophistry to the rank of an art and substituted empty fancies for knowledge. It has condemned the mind of India to run in the same old groove for hundreds of years. It has blinded her seers and led them to mistake phantasms for realities."

In light even of such reproach as this it is not necessary to deny that the Indian besides being a profoundly intellectual is also an extremely religious people. It is perhaps the most religious people in the world. Indians are not at all naturally inclined to secular views and aims as are we of the West. Religion has been the great magnitude in India, thought about religion the great world of thought. India's claim to a foremost place among the nations is not based upon her contributions to law and government. It is not based upon that which she has achieved in science or trade. It is based upon her rich contribution to the religion of the race. Her people is essentially a people of spiritual outlook upon the problem of the universe. This has been more true perhaps than of any ancient people except the Hebrews. In the Christian era and even under most unfavourable conditions the Hebrews until recently kept that outlook. In the freedom and prosperity and power of the modern

world they have, like many Christians, in some measure lost that outlook. One reminds himself of this fact when he thinks of the modernization of India. The Indians have been a people by whom the things which are seen have been recognized as temporal and the things unseen as eternal. To keep this view permanently before the minds of men, to insist upon it in face of all opposition, to live in the light of it in spite of other people's absorption in lesser aims, this has been the mission of India in the world. It is a mission for which India has been especially endowed and to which she has been particularly called of God. Other interests are not thereby excluded. If however this is abandoned or relegated to a secondary place, India will lose her special rank among the nations of the earth. This is the reason why the secularization of India is so sad.

It is because of this exalted conception of the nature of India's task that the process of reconstruction of religious belief in India commands our sympathetic interest. The necessity of such reconstruction is being brought home to the mind of many, especially of the cultivated in India. It is felt also by many besides the educated, even if the feeling results often in their case only in their discarding of inherited statements without the endeavour on their part to put anything into the place. The only class who do not seem to feel this necessity are the religious authorities, the priests and the gurus. Among them one looks in vain for a single leading personage who appears to recognize that the power which they have immemorially exerted is passing away. In the religious as in the political sphere men are demanding liberty. A revolution is taking place in the attitude of large classes toward Hinduism. The spread of education, the alteration of the whole aspect of civilization for many Hindus, has created a mental environment in which the old religious ideas are slowly fading away. The ancient rites are more or less perfunctorily performed but the life has gone out of them. Their utility is questioned. Answers vouchsafed by the gurus are far from being satisfactory. Under the old order the masses left all such questions to the religious authorities whose word was implicitly accepted. Just so did Europeans in the period

preceding the Renaissance and Reformation. The people of India have contributed and now contribute vast sums out of their incredible poverty for the support of religious foundations, for priests, monks and holy men and for the sacrifices. They are now asking what becomes of the money and what do we receive in return? Just so did the Europeans in the period before the Renaissance and the Reformation. Just so many are doing in the Russian and other Greek churches to-day. Just so men have done in Protestant lands, from time to time when power had lulled the church to sleep. Only there have been few times or places in these eras of Christian decadence when there have not been some even among the official representatives of the faith who thundered from its pulpits that which the awakening age proclaimed. Perhaps we are yet to see this spectacle in India as well. Our Renaissance came to us in no small measure from without. It came from contact with the intellectual inheritance of the Greeks. Yet the Byzantines had been for ages in contact with that inheritance and had made nothing spiritual of it. Western Europe contributed its own vital share. It is not too much to say that the Hindu Renaissance also comes to him borne upon an influence from without. Therewith is not said that the Hindu does not bring to it awakening powers and longings which are all his own. At all events the awakening seems to have come. We shall do well to speak then for a moment of the forms which this spiritual revival among the Indian peoples has taken. They represent the effort of devout men to maintain in their faith the continuity of their own past. They represent the attitude of these men toward the present. They show the reaction of Indian religion under the pressure of many of the forces of Christendom and in the face of an active propaganda for Christianity. Without doubt they represent a genuine religious revival of the Indian spirit as well.

The Bhagavad Gita, the divine song, is declared to be the most important religious book of India. It inculcates in its oldest portion a doctrine of salvation by loving devotion to God. There is a God who is a conscious, almighty and eternal being. The souls of men are distinct from God

and are declared to be imperishable. All of God's activities are for the good of the universe. Sin has often become rampant among men. God assumes new forms of manifestation in the phenomenal world for the protection of the good and the destruction of the evil. The relation of God to man and to the universe is not here, as in the doctrine of Karma, determined solely by the law of retribution. It is determined by God's love to those who know him and love him in turn. God delivers from sin those who take refuge in him. As if the resemblance of these thoughts to later Hebrew prophetic utterance and even to the teaching of Jesus were not enough, we are told that when, in the fourteenth century of the Christian era, Ramananda carried these doctrines throughout a large part of India, he made it his first concern to bring the message to the masses. He chose twelve disciples, not from princes and nobles, but from the common people and even from the despised castes. One was a leather worker, another a barber, a third the son of a weaver. The doctrine became prevalent mainly through preachers and saints of the humbler orders of the people, and even through saintly women.

The Bhagavata religion did not teach incarnation in such a fashion as to do away with polytheism. Yet even so, as one thinks of the stories of the incarnation in Rama, which are in their earliest forms so beautiful, what wonder that when, at the end of the eighteenth century, the Christian ideas began to be prevalent in India, pious men arose who were jealous for the honour of the Indian faith, holding this ancient body of truth and these exalted ideas above alluded to. They said of many points of the Christian contention, "We have heard all this before." Indian sages had said the same things. Indian saints had found peace and salvation in the same way. To be sure, there were endless and tasteless expansions of the tales of Rama and Krishna. These figures were carried over into the realm of the wildest mythology of which the Hindu imagination was capable. There have been however legends of Jesus also, apocryphal gospels and Christian folklore. It was not even left for Christianity to be the first and only agency to point out the way by which Hinduism, with its

doctrine of incarnations, was to be ridded of polytheism. With a rough hand the Mohammedan zealots broke down temples and destroyed idols, esteeming that they were purifying religion. It did convert some Indians to Islam. It modified the faith of millions whom it never converted. Considerable numbers of Indians especially in the lower classes did become Mohammedans. The greatest service of Islam to India however was not in the converts whom it made. Rather that service lay in the fact that it inspired many devout and thoughtful Hindus to perceive the truth of monotheism, a truth which when their own teachers had pursued they had wandered off into pantheism. Even here therefore when the Christian truth came to be offered, the Hindu could say, "We have heard that also!" Hume of Ahmednagar who has been quoted in the above passage, says in this connection: "Profoundly suggestive for those who would Christianize India is an understanding of that which Islam did for India altogether outside of the circle of those who became Mohammedan. There has been teaching of monotheism in India ever since the conquests of Islam."

Almost the first effects of the contact of Christianity with the higher thought and life of India showed themselves in the career of Ram Mohun Roy and in the organization of a movement called the Brahma Somaj which went out from him. Ram Mohun was a Brahman of high attainments whose one great enthusiasm was religion. He felt profoundly the value of the religious contribution of his own race. He believed that God is the father of all men. All religious movements are blindly seeking after this one God. The goal of religious endeavour is that all men should unite in the spiritual worship of the one God whom they all seek and vaguely acknowledge, and that they should join in the service of their fellow-men. He early published a tract entitled, "The Precepts of Jesus, a Guide to Peace and Happiness." In the preface to this tract he wrote: "This simple code is so admirably calculated to elevate men's minds to high and liberal notions of one God who has subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste or rank or wealth, to change and disappoint-

ment, to pain and death, and admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercy which he has lavished in nature, it is moreover so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of its various duties to God, to itself and to society, that I cannot but hope for the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

It must be said in all honesty that this figure of Ram Mohun Roy and his theistic movement stands out against a very dark background. The popular religion had never got very far away from polytheism and degrading superstition, from unmeaning ceremony and the immoralities for which even the reforms of Sankhara had left open door. On the other hand the enlightened had trodden the way of speculative pantheism, of absorption in metaphysical subtleties and of the pride and remoteness of an esoteric faith. After all, this had been the real content of the teaching of Sankhara, when he had yielded to the age-long obsession of his fathers that salvation comes by meditation. The teaching of the doctrine of Bhakti, of loving devotion to God and of God's love for men was indeed ancient. It had never been wholly lost sight of. It sounds through many reform movements all down the centuries. It emerges now and then in temporary radiance and is obscured again. On the whole however it is fair to say that Hinduism has never been in more than slight measure modified by such spiritual movements as were, for example, Sikhism and Sadhuism in their first purity. The work of Ram Mohun Roy was later taken up by Rabendra Nath Tagore and still later by Keshab Chander Sen, the latter of whom, in the face of conservative elements which were already taking possession of the Somaj, urged the elimination of caste and set forth other far-reaching principles. Similar, but even more syncretistic in its tendencies is the religious reform movement in India which has issued in the organization of the Prarthena Somaj. The best thoughts of Hindus, Moslems and Christians are here declared to have been directed to the evolution of the spiritual aspirations of mankind. "The duty of every spiritual movement is not to destroy but to fulfil the highest doctrine of preceding teachers. India is above all other countries fitted to be the sphere of the newest and most

truly spiritual religion because it is the genius of India to absorb the best of all influences that come to her. The nature of the new religion which is to be established will be liberation from formulated law or dogma. It will be an intuitive faith, a loving devotion to God by which the carnal in man will be subjugated to the spiritual. The gate to the spiritual kingdom is repentance. Mercy and service of man, not ceremonies or sacrifice, are to be the fruits of religion." In these high phrases are gathered together in striking fashion some of the noblest thoughts which have been attained in the long struggle, not alone of the religious life of India, but, as well, in the aspirations and revelations of all other races which have ever reached an exalted plane of faith and religious life. If distinction between this and the so-called Arya Somaj is to be sought it would apparently be to this effect, that in this last there is less explicit acknowledgment of obligation to all faiths. There is less recognition of the highest elements of religion as universal. There is more assertion of the primacy, not to say the sufficiency, of India. There may be room for difference of opinion how large is the unconscious debt of the Arya Somaj to the subtle influences of a very real Christendom which has long been present in India. Certainly this belief, that it is less influenced by the West, is the thing which commends the Arya Somaj to many Indians to-day. The movement has had the following of far greater numbers than its predecessors. Only thirty years after the death of its founder it is reported to have nearly a quarter of a million adherents. It is recruited very largely from the upper classes. The Christian movement on the other hand has drawn largely from the lower classes. The aim of Saraswati was to save India from threatened denationalization. It was to purify Hinduism of its superstitions and horrors. It was to find the inspiration of a true nationalism in the unpolluted fountain of the Vedas. It has urged civic and social service. It has awakened, organized and directed the energies of thousands of thoughtful men who, left in isolation, would never have had the courage to protest against great social evils. It has been energetic in the sphere of social education. It has urged even the education of girls.

Yet the future of Aryism seems to its best friends full of uncertainty. Orthodox Hinduism is moving *en masse* to less trenchant but more acceptable reforms. Aryism is at once too little and too much. Nationalism is only too apt to turn away from religion altogether. Criticism must inevitably destroy the extravagant claims made on behalf of the Vedas. More than one of the leaders of these various Somajs has come to grief upon the limitless claim of a personal oracular inspiration. Finally the Arya must some day take up a consistent position with reference to caste. Either it will break with caste or else it will renew allegiance to caste. Either alternative would appear to portend its ruin.

With the profoundest sympathy with these aspects of liberal and reforming Hinduism, certain reflections force themselves upon us. In statements such as those cited above there is that which must appeal to every generous mind. The contrast is humiliating which such wide-heartedness presents with claims which have been made by some, at least, of the emissaries of Christianity, who have asserted the exclusive validity of their own truths and even of the particular form in which these truths are held by the emissaries themselves. The contrast is unjust. It sets certain great and luminous figures chosen out of a whole race on the one side, over against some who certainly do not represent the best spirit of the missionary movement on the other. There are few who would not rejoice in the insight which such exalted utterances display and the suggestion of a basis for a universal faith of men which they convey. Yet when all is said, there remains the question whether these synthetic statements can ever have the power of what Schleiermacher called the positive religions. He so named them because they have their basis in an historic personality, which personality their respective adherents have believed to be in some sense a revelation of God to man. It is not unjust to call these last the real religions by contrast with the artificial and eclectic ones. It is not unjust to ask whether a program, a scheme of sentiments, be they never so fine, enters into the area of religion at all and does not rather

abide in the realm of ideas concerning religion. Schleiermacher himself called attention to the fundamental error into which the positive religions have sometimes fallen. It is that of making no distinction whatever between the revealing personality and the God who is revealed. Devoted pietist that he had been and in some sense always remained, Schleiermacher felt that many Christians had in their zeal fallen into this error. Criticism has altered among us the traditional conception of the nature and authority of the documents of revelation. Men have held a belief in the inspiration of the Christian scriptures not widely different from that which obtains among the Hindus as to the Vedas or among the Mohammedans as to the Koran. There has been much argument among us as to the absoluteness of Christianity or, as some would prefer to phrase it, the finality of Christianity and the absoluteness of Jesus. The discussion has been in large part unsatisfactory. Those who love most to conjure with the word absolute seem indeed often to desire to impress us with the idea that they do not mean to assert that which has been traditionally understood by the phrase. Yet they are not able to make clear what they do mean to assert. This however would seem to be true. A religion which does not enshrine in the hearts of men a personality which comes then to dominate their lives and through which they believe that they have hold upon God himself, must in the end lack the dynamic which the great positive religions have shown and which has led to their being called, one after Moses, one after Zoroaster, one after Buddha, one after Mohammed and one after Jesus of Nazareth.

It is true that there has often been a tendency to expand this dynamic faith of a revealing personality either on the one hand into a mythology for which the materials were given in the popular imagination, or on the other hand into a metaphysic according to abstract notions of the deity already current in the schools. To correct this tendency, and eliminate its results, to refine and purify the conception of the revealing personality, so that in being the manifestation of God it may not cease at the same time to be true man—this is the problem of culture in any

religion, not excluding Christianity. To refine this conception of revealing personality quite away has been the fate of many liberal movements. This is the death of religion. The tenets be they never so elevated have not that power for the reconstruction of personality in the believer which religion needs. This observation may be verified many times over in Christendom. By this process revelation and Christ, specific revelation in Christ, become vanishing notions. Christianity ceases to be a religion and becomes a form of culture. There is no reason why we should expect a different fate for parallel movements which do not bear the name of Christianity. Sankhara was right. The masses of men will always believe by the aid of their will and affection. Those who believe solely by the aid of their reason are always on the verge of not believing. Religion is of the whole man. Any attempt to make it the activity of but part of the man is fatal. Religion makes itself known in all the experiences of men and not merely in some of them. We have no cause to go over to the obscurantists, to praise what Luther called "kohlerglaube," or to join in that misrepresentation of Paul which delights to make him say that God chose only the foolish. Let us be glad of the leadership in religion which only the cultivated can furnish. Let us make clear to ourselves however that no great religious movement ever went out from this class or moved this class alone. If a faith moves this class alone it is because it is not a faith, but only a reflection upon faith, a résumé of the opinions of those who have had faith, an argument about faith, a reasoning concerning faith. These are perfectly familiar observations touching self-conscious liberalism among ourselves. It is not therefore invidious to apply them to the case of others.

Indian theology is thus feeling its way toward great changes under the impulse of the outside world and, more particularly, of the Christian propaganda. We may speak with much greater assurance however concerning the transformation which Christian theology has undergone in the West during the same period. It has accepted the doctrine of evolution, a doctrine which has largely modified

our ideas of the world and of man. It has accepted the results of the critical study of Scripture and of sacred history. With a general philosophical view which asserts the unity of the universe, it has adopted a new theory of knowledge which has altered our view of revelation. It has learned much by the comparative study of the history of religions and from specific research into the psychology of religion. It has profited by the complete reconstruction which the philosophy of religion has undergone. To some extent the transformation of theological opinion has been due to our enlarging contacts with the ideas and spirit of the non-Christian world both ancient and modern. To a far greater degree however these changes have been due to revolutions which have taken place in the world of western thought itself.

These changes have carried us far away from deism. For by that name we may frankly and fairly describe the philosophical tendency regnant in Christian theology down to the end of the eighteenth century. No one can read, for example, so famous a book as Butler's "Analogy" without seeing that it was in fact a deistic philosophy which lay at the basis of that devout apologetic. It was deism in spite of the fact that the devout so strongly opposed deism—none more strongly than Butler. The defenders of the faith did not realize that they proceeded from the same fundamental assumptions from which their antagonists also set out. Mark Patison has clearly shown that the reason why deism, despite the fact that it had never really been defeated in the argument, yet ran into the sand, lies in the fact that the premises from which both it and its opponents proceeded lost their validity for both. They faded away from the minds of the thoughtful on either side of the debate and left the unthoughtful quarrelling for another generation about the old shibboleths which meantime had lost all meaning whatsoever. It was precisely this which happened also to the old Unitarianism. It was never really silenced in the argument. Its presuppositions however melted away just as the contrary presuppositions slipped away from the hands of the orthodox. Or to put it more accurately, the presupposi-

tions which a hundred years ago were valid for both parties are now valid for neither.

Deism viewed the world as created of God by the word of his power, called out of nothingness, but standing over against the God who had called it forth. God thus tended to be spoken of more and more as a great artificer and designer, in Addison's high phrase a "great Original," an intellect and will prior to the world and external to it, like a greater man over against the mechanism which in his wisdom and power he has produced. God could of course supervene upon his world in the way of miracle if he would. He had in former times and on great occasions done so. At other times it seemed as if he let nature, which was thus thought of as evil and apart from God, run her course. Man stood over against God in the same way. Man too was of evil until the miracle of grace made possible for him any beginnings of good. Finally, the mysterious connection between man and nature was never given the tithe of the attention which we now accord to it. The divine and the human were mutually exclusive conceptions. The natural was the contradictory of the supernatural. What was of nature could not be of grace.

This dualistic view of the universe, with the traditional theology which belongs to it, represented, we may say, one pole of thought. When the early missionaries, who were naturally imbued with this theology, first came into contact with Hindu pantheism, it is not to be wondered at if they judged that this system represented exactly the opposite pole of thought from their own. Two views more widely divergent in all their implications could hardly be imagined. When the missionaries realized that this Hindu theology asserted the identity of God and the world and again the identity of God and man, they were outraged. When they saw that it was possible to hold this doctrine and at the same time to be indifferent to the most fundamental moral distinctions the contention seemed to them blasphemous. They saw that this assumption leads to the notion of the unreality of the world. It leads to the denial of much that they esteemed most tragically real in the life of man, before all things, the fact of sin. Such an identification of

God and man as these pantheists asserted either demands a perfection in humanity which we nowhere find or else it disclaims certain perfections on the part of God which religion, as the missionaries understood it, can never be without. A Christian theism which reckons with the new factors which the nineteenth century has brought within our ken is far better able than was the earlier orthodoxy to perceive what the Hindu pantheists always and everywhere have been aiming at. These latter might have said on their part that they were shocked at the duality of the universe which Christianity, as set before them by the missionaries, implied. They were indignant at the denial of the truth of the imminence of God in nature and of the divine nature of man. They were shocked at the description of the beginnings of the divine life in man as if it were merely a miracle accomplished from without. We ought to be able now more easily to see that for which pantheists have contended. The man whose forebears for centuries and millenniums have thought in terms of pantheism ought to find it easier to understand that for which we argue.

Somehow humanity ought to have been able to say, "I and the Father are one." There are words of Jesus which seem to imply that some day through him we shall be able to say this. Humanity has not however been able to say this save as it ignored one great side of the life of a man, namely the fact of sin. It has never been able to say this truthfully except upon the lips of one man, Jesus Christ. Let us hasten to say however that Jesus uses those words not either in description of an isolated experience, a single moment of ecstasy, in his life, or yet as if it were an experience in which he stood alone and was separated from the potential and ideal life of all humanity. Those words upon his lips were not the utterance of the consciousness of what men have called his divine nature in distinction from his nature as true man. The supposition that one part of his consciousness could utter that of which the other was not aware seems to us but playing with names. Those words were the utterance of a single self which felt itself to be in perfect

moral harmony with God. It is not going too far to allege that Jesus has here expressed the profound truth which the pantheist has sought to reach but has never been able to attain. Jesus' word does no violence to the consciousness of the divine to which the Orient has pathetically held in face of much which made the claim seem utterly preposterous. He does no violence to his own normal and continuous consciousness, the consciousness of his life as a whole. He does no violence to a true man's own recognition of the fact that, while the capacity for God is inherent in every man, the actualization of that unity with God is a problem of supreme moral endeavour. Pantheism in India has done violence to all three of these truths. It is the denial of these three obvious facts which has been the secret of its decadence everywhere. The pantheistic declaration of the oneness of man in essence with God is a mere logical conclusion drawn from given premises. For that matter the polar opposite contention long regnant in Christendom, the doctrine of the total depravity of man, is also only a logical conclusion drawn from given premises. The Indian position is the conclusion of an endeavour to find the universe a unit, despite its obvious variety. The obsolete Christian position is the issue of a determined effort to find the universe a duality in spite of all that proves it to be one. The statement of Jesus, "I and my Father are one," is not a metaphysical proposition, it is the utterance of a moral and spiritual experience. The pantheistic statement is made in the teeth of the profoundest knowledge we possess both as to the real state of the moral case with man and of that which our hearts demand in the moral nature of God. The declaration of Jesus is in consonance with all that we know of either.

In a remarkable passage Bernard Lucas has said: "Hindu theology had set out to find God. It had returned with the discovery that he was undiscoverable. It had set out to know God. It had returned, it alleged, with the bitter knowledge that God was unknowable. The impulse which had set the Hindu thinker to his task was essentially a religious one. He went forth with the conviction that

the greatest knowledge to which man can attain is the knowledge of God. He came back with the sense that he had been deluded and that such delusion was an essential part of all experience, including his own. Only the conclusion that all is illusion can be called knowledge in any real sense. Brahm could not have relations. If he were to be set in relations he would not be Brahm. Brahm could not be nothing. He could not be limited by anything which is. He must therefore be all. All sense of anything apart from him is illusion. Man's consciousness of himself as a separate existence is part of the universal delusion inseparable from all existence." Unquestionably Christian theology has erred in that it has sometimes spoken of God, to use Matthew Arnold's bitter phrase, "as if he were a man in the next street." "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself" the Psalmist makes God in derisive mood to say. Christendom also has had its mood of reaction from this over-familiarity, this license of affirmation. Christendom also has turned to agnosticism. Yet it has never been able to abide in its agnosticism. To have proved that the supreme reality is utterly unknowable was doubtless a great achievement. Its chief significance lay however in demonstrating that we had taken the wrong road. To show that so long as we confine ourselves to pure reason the unknown remains the unknowable, simply suggests that we might do well to try and see what we can do with the practical reason. We might admit the validity of the facts given in feeling and moral will and thus form a working notion about life and God, which the experience of those who committed themselves to it as working notion would then more and more tend to verify. The Hindu religious thinkers never would have admitted this. The Hindu hopelessness about man's life would never have permitted him to make such a wholesome and courageous venture as that. For the first he dealt too much in abstraction and for the second he was too much of a pessimist. He had attempted to describe the supreme reality in an ever enlarging series of statements which sought to say what it is not. It is

not anything which bears any resemblance to man. The higher Indian speculation has been saved in this manner from anthropomorphism, that is, from the making of God too much like men. Yet after all, and setting excesses aside, have we any symbol for that which is higher than anything that we know, save the highest thing that we do know, namely the moral consciousness of man? Even Spencer said that his objection to describing God in terms of human personality was, not that it said too much, but that it said too little. All turns upon this. Do we describe the Almighty, whom we cannot find out to perfection, in terms of the highest in man in spite of man's defects? Or do we describe him in terms of the lower elements in human nature, despite man's nobler qualities? It is this last which makes anthropomorphism reprehensible and injurious. Curiously enough moreover while the highest Hindu thought was preening itself upon having avoided all description of God in terms of the life and nature of man, the common people never could grasp that. The common mind could never be satisfied with the abyss of emptiness which seems to the learned the height of wisdom. Accordingly in popular Hinduism, the unworthiest of the traits of men have come back as the very attributes of God. The pedantic philosophy had striven hard to rescue man from this terrible popular religion. It had taken the wrong road. It had taken the road of pure reason, along which the magnitudes with which in religion we are most concerned cannot be found. The conception of God which we need to satisfy our religious aspirations is not that of Brahm existing in eternal dreamless sleep, unmoved by our miseries and by all the cosmic process. It is that of a living God expressing himself in the course of nature and in the lives of men, and yet also not completely absorbed in these. The conception of the universe which will satisfy the modern mind is decidedly not that of the world as a purely illusory appearance, the result of Maya. It is rather an unfolding of the mind and power, a revelation of the will and life of God, leading to some consummation and far off divine event toward

which the whole creation moves. The conception of the relation of the individual soul and God which will satisfy the religious instinct is not that ignorance has in some inexplicable way separated us from God and that this separation will be ended when we realize the futility of life and all desire. It is rather that of loving dependence and fellowship, it is a communion of soul and a companionship of moral endeavour which issues in oneness of life and finds, even in the contradictions of existence, if these be bravely met, both a fulfilment of self and the honour and service of God.

Christian theology has many affinities with the doctrines of other religions but it differs from these in the fact that its constitutive element is the historic personality of one whom we regard as in a unique sense the revelation of the invisible God. This essential feature of Christianity causes the problem of the historicity of Jesus to occupy a far more important place than does the parallel problem touching one and another of the founders of the other faiths. The biographies of Buddha and of Mohammed are of great interest to their followers. They are in no sense essential to the religions. In Christianity on the other hand, the life of Jesus is vital to the religion. This is said without intention of ignoring or underestimating Jesus' teaching. Yet his teaching is unquestionably subordinate to his life. Jesus was no mere bringer of a new doctrine. He said, not "I give you the truth," but "I am the truth." He said that his truth was such that only those who did it could know it. It cannot be questioned that the review of the doctrine concerning Jesus which was inaugurated by the modern critical and historical movement has brought the living Jesus nearer to our thoughts than did the older assumption of his divinity in terms which practically contradicted his humanity. Men felt in those old statements that the divine and the human were mutually exclusive conceptions. In predicating the divinity, or as they preferred to say the deity, of Jesus, they did so in terms which removed him completely from the category of normal humanity. They had a deep and instinctive fear that in emphasizing his humanity they imperilled the assertion of his divinity. They thus did their

part to provoke the reaction into which rationalism fell, when it depicted Jesus with all the traits, even down to the weaknesses and foibles and sins, of ordinary men. The historical and literary criticism of the gospels has made such trivial representation untenable. It has done much to restore to us the real Jesus, although it is not certain that all Christians are as yet fully prepared to rejoice that this is so. To declare that Jesus was an ordinary man is to leave out of view his most salient characteristics. His moral nature transcends every other. His consciousness of God was a unique consciousness. Whatever else there was in his life which was unique stood in relation to this. It is these factors which give him his unique place in the religious life of humanity. We have full room for Jesus' own assertions, "I came down from heaven." We understand that however of the sources of his heavenly spirit, of the springs of his ethical purity, of the ground of his transcendent love of God and men, of the purposes of supreme self-sacrifice in which nevertheless he found peace and self-fulfilment and joy. We have no need to understand this, as if it separated him in intellectual and still less as if it differentiated him in physical inheritance from others of the sons of men.

Now nothing can be more obvious than that such a view of the incarnation presents radical differences from those views which are embodied in the faith and lore of the Indian world. "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." The view which we have offered is far more possible to the Indian mind than was the traditional Christian dogma of the incarnation, resting as it did upon a duality of the present and the transcendent world. The traditional dogma claimed both too much and too little. It was impossible from the point of view of that unity of the universe which was instinctive with all thoughtful Hindus. Yet on the other hand it seemed only too much like the tales of countless incarnations in which popular Hinduism abounds. It too closely resembled notions current among their own peoples which the loftier spirits among the Hindus had rejected.

Brahm, the one sole reality, the one without a second, is so conceived that an incarnation of him is strictly speaking unthinkable. In philosophic Hinduism there is no incarnation of God. The basis of any manifestation of God is found in the phenomenal Brahm, Ishvawa, the world-framer. One must account for the universe, which yet the conception of Brahm compels us to regard as unreal. The Brahm of the phenomenal world can be no more real than the world itself. The God whom the universe reveals is not the one and sole reality. It is only his shadow, knowing which you know that you know only ignorance. You perceive that what you perceive is illusion. The avatars of Vishnu appear to be the true incarnations in Hindu religious thought. These incarnations reveal in some sort an ascending order. The god took the form of a fish, of a tortoise, of a boar, then of a creature half man and half lion, of a dwarf and, finally, there was the human incarnation. Always however the avatar is the cloak to disguise the God. The true object is never to reveal but to conceal the deity, while he is accomplishing some particular purpose for which he assumes the disguise. That accomplished, the disguise is thrown off again. A full manifestation of the character of the god is apparently not so much as thought of. Consequently actions and notions which are utterly unthinkable in connection with God, as he is conceived in the western world, are attributed to the avatars without even an idea of their impropriety.

The philosophy and the religion are thus in hopeless contradiction. The Indian mind has had to choose between these two alternatives throughout its history. A subtle metaphysical mind has contended with a sensitive religious nature and a high imagination. Philosophy and religion have in turn dominated the one over the other. They have never really assisted one another or been assimilated into one whole. Buddhism was a revolt of the religious nature against the tyranny of the Brahmanical metaphysics, quite as much as against the pretensions of priestcraft. With his simple creed and beautiful life Buddha incarnated in his own person the religious ideal of his people. Before the absolute sincerity of his motive and the whole-hearted

devotion of his followers Brahmanism retreated for a time discredited. In time however Buddha was himself incorporated into the Hindu pantheon. He himself became but another avatar of Vishnu. The very man who condemned the mythology of the priests became a new figure in that mythology. The abstract notions concerning God, which were drawn from every quarter except that of the character of man, dimmed the outline of the revelation which had been given in the beautiful spirit and self-sacrificing career of Buddha. For, surely, few of us would now deny that Buddha in his lofty living and pure teaching revealed something of God. Few would hesitate however to affirm that his revelation would have been far more vital and uplifting had not the philosophy within which he moved prevented his thinking of God, and so also of man's likeness to God, in terms of personality, and also if he had not set so low an estimate upon the value of human life. Every line of the Gospels tend to make plain that it was exactly the character of God which Jesus felt that he was charged in his own personality to reveal. Furthermore, it was his own human life which, in all the serene and sad and glad acts and thoughts and feelings of it, as it was lived among men, was to constitute the revelation of God. Thus the highest conceivable estimate is put upon human life. This was to be the medium through which the revelation of God was to take place. It would seem as if here too Christianity were especially adapted not to destroy but to fulfil that which Buddhism had attempted and in large measure failed to accomplish and, as well, that which Hinduism has always been seeking, and in such pitifully small measure has ever been able to find.

We had reserved opportunity to speak at the end of this lecture concerning certain matters which pertain, not to the organization and rites of the church, and not to the dogma of Christianity in its contact with the teachings of the religions of the East. It is intended rather to speak of certain points in the habit and practice of oriental peoples, to touch upon certain questions of manners and morals which often reveal the spirit of the other religions and which have significant relation to the propaganda of the

Christian faith. We can speak only of a few representative and typical problems. One of the most interesting of these is the matter of the so-called worship of ancestors in China.

This matter was, as is well known, the root of an old contention within the Roman Catholic missions. It is a living, not to say a burning, question in Protestant circles in China at this hour. It is a very ancient question which alien religions entering China had to meet. It has often been said that, judged in the light of its own principles, a Buddhism which tolerates the worship of ancestors as Buddhism in China does is, to say the least, a singular combination. It has also been said and probably with truth, that had Buddhism when transplanted to China not tolerated the worship of ancestors it would hardly have made the conquests which it did make. Matteo Ricci, the first great Jesuit leader in China, at Canton after 1581 and at Peking after 1601, made a great impression upon the Chinese of governmental and literary circles by his display of learning in mathematics and the exact sciences as these were taught in the West. In his riper years he was a scholar of no mean pretentions in the Mandarin language and in his knowledge of things Chinese. It is well known that he allowed converts to continue to practise the rites of ancestor worship on the ground that he considered these rites purely civil and social in their nature. So surprising was the success of his mission and that of his immediate followers that high officials of the Empire became alarmed. Steps were taken to limit an activity which was constantly increasing. Moreover Dominicans and Franciscans learning of the success of the Jesuits flocked to China. The dissensions of the rival orders did more to imperil the position of the nascent Roman Catholic Church in China than did the opposition of the Chinese themselves. The Dominicans declared the ancestral worship idolatrous. The matter being referred to the Pope, Innocent X. sustained the Dominican view. The Jesuits however despatched a special agent to Rome and Alexander VII. reversed the previous decision, approving the opinion that the ancestral rites had no religious significance. A French bishop in China continuing the agitation, the Jesuits carried the

matter before the great emperor, Kang-Hsi himself. The Emperor in a most interesting document declared the custom political and social. Not to the physical heavens but to the Great Spirit is adoration rendered in the worship of heaven and earth in which the Emperor represented the whole people. The worship of ancestors however is the mark only of filial piety and veneration. As such the rites may be participated in by men of many faiths. Exactly as such however they are of primary interest to the state. As connected with the family and clan system and with the maintenance of social order, when they are denounced as pernicious or if it is sought to alienate men from them, the state must be alarmed.

In 1704 Clement X. reverted to the elder papal decision that the rites are idolatrous. A papal legate arriving in China ordered converts to desist from practices interdicted by the Pope. Kang-Hsi was not the man to take that tamely. He made it known that all those who wished to break with the Chinese social structure would be outlawed. Missionaries were ordered to leave China upon pain of death. Converts numbering hundreds of thousands were deprived of their spiritual guides and subjected to bitter persecution. Escorted to the frontier many of the priests returned in disguise. For decades their converts protected them. New priests from the West came in time to their aid. Their resolution and fortitude became legendary in the East. The succession never failed until the opening of mission work again far on in the nineteenth century. At least such is the tradition of the Jesuits. The problem of ancestor worship was thus bequeathed to the Protestant period of missions. Difference of opinion concerning it obtains both among foreign Christians and as between Chinese adherents of the faith. Despite the utterance of the great emperor and the oft-repeated opinion of many enlightened men, the common man in China presumably makes no fine distinction in filial veneration offered before the tablets between the propitiation of a possibly aggrieved progenitor and the homage which is natural to loving hearts and is also closely connected with the patriarchal social order, an order which sometimes seemed stronger than

even the imperial government itself. A Sicilian gentleman would assuredly assert that it is not worship that is offered to the image of the saint. The Sicilian peasant however does not make that distinction. The great mass of the Protestant missionaries would surely side with the Dominicans and not with the Jesuits in this matter of ancestral worship. It is not difficult on the evidence of other matters to accuse the Jesuits of accommodation. It is not easy to explain away the Chinese emperor's definite assertion. Still the opinion which he uttered might well be true for men of cultivation like himself and not true for the mass of the Chinese. Despite the inflexible position which most missions have taken that ancestral worship must be abandoned entirely if a man is to become a Christian, there are not wanting distinguished men in the Protestant missions to-day who feel that here jealous and uncompromising Protestantism has made a mistake. They feel that it has made a mountain out of a molehill, a religious issue out of one which is social and secular. In the end the missionary will generally refer you to the native convert himself and bid you ask him how he feels about it. The great majority of those questioned answer that they feel the worship of ancestors to be idolatrous. Even by this testimony curiosity is not altogether allayed. The men questioned are likely to be so essentially of the type which we have described as foreign Christians, that one could not be sure that they were not sincerely echoing the opinions of their revered foreign missionary teachers and incidentally expressing what they supposed to be the opinion of their interlocutor as well. Furthermore it may well have seemed to these men, as also to their teachers, that the safer course is to make a clean breach with many aspects of the popular religiosity, ancestor worship included, in order to be safe from temptation and escape the complex situations which may ensue. This may be practically true, but such practical reasoning does not settle the theoretical question as to what we really ought to think concerning the meaning of ancestor worship. With the lapse of time, the sure tact, the racial feeling of the native Christians who are truly such will, when the influence of foreign

Christians is diminished or removed, lead the Chinese church to a satisfactory conclusion of a question which no man can answer with entire confidence at this time. If the ancestor really is only one more among the many possible malevolent spirits which the Chinese man must exorcise, if the worship is only part of the general nature-worship and superstition which has been such an incubus and which now, with the advance of the knowledge of nature is being rolled away, then the ancestral worship too will disappear. If however it is something different, of nobler origin and connected with the best and not with the worst traits of men, it will survive, no matter what the missionaries may say or do against it. It will be sublimated and ennobled as it comes to stand in clear relations to a higher thought of God and man. It will still express the fact that the Chinese man reveres the authors of his life and the traditions of his past in a way in which he feels that we energetic and irreverent worshippers of the future do not revere our fathers and our past.

Ricci directly asserted that the worship of Confucius stood upon the same level with that of the ancestors. It was a social and civil act, not a religious one. The implications of Kang-Hsi's statement are the same. The judgments of most students of the history of religions agree that Confucianism is not a religion but merely an ethical system. Thus the veneration accorded to Confucius would be but the grateful recognition of one of the greatest benefactors of the human race, the father of the intellectual and moral life of thousands of millions of men through twenty-five hundred years. It is one of the curious episodes therefore of the year 1907 that, by imperial decree, it was ordered that the same divine honours should be paid to Confucius which were paid to Heaven and Earth. The decree has been repeated by the republic within recent years. All sorts of questions arise in one's mind as he asks himself what this decree may mean. Is it an attempt to meet Christianity, so to say, on its own ground? Is it an attempt to galvanize the honour which China has always done to its great teacher into divine homage, parallel to that which Christians, so many generations ago, accorded

to their great leader, the Galilean Jesus? Is it thus an attempt by decree to make Confucius to be more like that which the Christ of theology has been to the Christian Church and world? In an age when the influx of modern learning is displacing ominously the old study of Confucian literature, is this an effort to win the ears and hearts of men for Confucius again? These are questions which the outsider asks. Among the Chinese themselves there are not wanting those who assert that such an elevation of Confucius to divinity is absolutely out of harmony with the teaching and spirit of Confucianism. It is declared to be absurd in the face of what Confucius indubitably said and of the light in which he plainly wished himself to be viewed. Yet in state schools and elsewhere provision has been made to enforce the worship thus enjoined. Participation in it at least once a month was to be obligatory. Theoretically no man could be in the employ of the state who did not conform. The enforcement has not anywhere been undertaken with great seriousness. In many cases Christian converts are refusing it. The whole situation gives occasion for thought. Is this the retort of the Chinese to the absolutist view of Christianity which has generally prevailed among those who brought Christianity into their midst? Can Confucianism be resuscitated in this way? Must it not go over into a syncretism in which a religious factor, larger and more vital than Confucianism has ever shown itself to be, will find place, but in which also the ethical and social philosophy of Confucius will be accorded an influence far greater than any Christian propaganda has ever yet assigned to them.

Turning from questions like these, which have distinct theological suggestion, to popular superstitions and customs which in almost all the missionary lands are much in evidence, we are often forced to ask the question, Are not some phases of faith now dead to us living phases with men who stand at the same point in the religious experience at which our ancestors stood not very long ago? In China for example it will be pointed out to you that the Scripture of the New Testament gives colour to the belief in demoniacal possession. In confirmation of the Scriptures you

will be told that the Chinese almost universally believe in demoniacal possession. Old China is so to say permeated with this belief. A book written by a missionary not many years ago cites possibly a hundred examples of unquestionably authentic experiences in China, to show that phenomena of demoniacal possession occur in that land which are precisely similar to those recorded in the Scripture. By these examples the Scriptures are supposed to be defended against modern criticism. Observations in China are declared to make it certain that men were and are possessed. A missionary in China said that he thought that it had been almost a generation since, in the field with which he was familiar, a western emissary of Christianity had preached material hell-fire and the physical torment of the lost. He doubted if the natives of the younger generation had ever heard from a foreigner an exposition of Scripture looking in that direction. Yet here were native preachers, when they went off on their preaching tours, making men tremble with the thought of a hell of torment as Edwards in Northampton made our own ancestors tremble as they thought of an angry God. Did not the Scriptures speak of a hell of fire? The Chinese man never had to wait to be told by missionaries about a literal hell-fire. He believed in that before he ever heard of missionaries. Does not the Chinese man in his legal processes even now resort to torture? Is it so long since our own fathers also depicted their God as an oriental sovereign ruling without a code or even having a code which might conceivably reverse the maxims which seemed true and good to mortal men. When the Hottentot reads in his Bible about witches the missionary, with his modern sense as to the Bible, is hard put to it to maintain for the Hottentot the latter's belief in the Scripture and at the same time to rid him of his murderous superstition about witches. The poor man believed in witches before he ever heard of the Bible. For the moment he believes in them the more and not the less because the book, which has been described to him as the Word of God, seems to sustain him in that belief. So also did the Bible prove the witches to our own Massachusetts forbears and, fortified by the Bible, they too committed abominable crimes

and lived in nameless fear. These seem most interesting examples of the contact of the gospel with the rudimentary notions and sad mistakes of men. They remind us, right from the face of our own Scriptures, how the spiritual impulse which Judaism and then also the teaching of Jesus was, passed through a period of amalgamation with notions which are not true and do not tend to good. It may be almost in the same order and sequence that a new race in contact with the gospel will pass through some of these same amalgamations. They show how subtle a matter is the teaching of religion and with what circumspection one must deal with practices which are in any way connected with religion.

Everyone knows the difficulty which missions in India have had in dealing with the question of caste. Almost with unanimity the emissaries of Christianity have declared the caste system to be absolutely opposed to the Christian ideal. On the other hand Indian society has almost uniformly driven the convert to Christianity out from his caste. In many cases it would be practically impossible for the convert to maintain the customs of his caste. For a long time the adherents of Christianity were drawn very largely from the outcasts, that is from those whose social position could not be made worse and might possibly be made better, by any change which they might make. It is needless to say that a great many other causes are at work in India to-day, besides the spread of Christianity, to weaken the hold of the caste system. Yet Christian converts are still obliged in a measure to create for themselves a social order outside the framework of the one with which they are familiar. It has been much easier to assail the caste system as iniquitous than to provide something which will in the long run take its place, or even to deal justly with the immediate situation which the abolition of an immemorial social order creates for the converts. Nothing is easier than abstraction and negation. One is reminded of the parallel in the case of slavery in North America. It was comparatively easy to be an abolitionist, especially if one did not live in a slave-holding state. Comparatively few would now dispute the principle which was involved in the

emancipation, although they may greatly regret the immediate and wholesale enfranchisement. There was however in many quarters a pathetic waning of enthusiasm for the emancipation when the stage of abstraction and negation, the stage of abusive rhetoric was past. Gifts of a different order were asked for when it came to the struggle of generations, and possibly it will be of centuries, to build up an economic, civil and social order for the emancipated, or rather to make the emancipated able to build up such an order for themselves. The parallel seems instructive. It is easy to say caste must go. The democratic trend of modern society makes itself felt even in India, now that India is in midstream of modern movement. What to do with the men and still more with the women and children who, as the result of our teaching of Christian idealism, have become outcasts, that is the question, or at least it is one of the questions. How to sustain them now in love without making them feel that they are always going to be sustained. There is much that not missions only but also government must do. There is much that the government is making splendid effort to do. There is much that only a new industrial order can gradually achieve. There is much that the people must do for themselves. At the present, weak and helpless as they are, some of these converts cast themselves upon the foreigner. The foreigner takes up his load as he ought to do, this load which he has had so considerable a part in creating. The consequences however for the Christian movement in India are far reaching. Commerce, politics, and most of all, education, are working this tremendous upheaval, not Christianity alone. The day of statesmen, of builders of industries, of educators and above all of moulders of the character of men in a struggle which will last for generations, has come. Yet although the foreigner may gird himself for his task with a light heart, or possibly with a heavy heart, as the case may be, he realizes in his best moments, how much there is which no foreigner can ever do. The greatest and best part of all that is necessary the Hindu must do for himself, or it will never be done. The oriental world even when it shall have become thoroughly permeated with the spirit of Christianity

will still be the oriental world. The Orient will never become Christian in the sense of the transfer of all that we think and feel just as we think and feel it to the Oriental. It has been mercifully provided that the trees shall not grow into the sky. Though we sometimes feel depressed with the thought that the type of civilization which we know in the West, with all of its good qualities and all of its evil ones, will become dominant over the world, yet we may have profound faith that the quality of races which God has for ages been making for himself will reassert itself. What is really made their own by these races will be made so truly their own that our own civilization and our own faith will some day confront us in a different, and why should we not say in a better, light.

It is comparatively easy to say that polygamy and concubinage as these exist and are recognized in almost all Eastern lands and in Africa do not comport with the Christian ideal. It is however a very difficult question to say what a convert should do who has stood in these relations, who has in the past, in good faith, assumed responsibility for others, both women and children, and given them a status which was in no way illegal, to which indeed practically no stigma and hardly even reproach attached. Shall he signalize his new views of morality by repudiating these obligations and compromising the position of those who under the old system were not only not to blame but were hardly even unfortunate. It is difficult here not to do evil that good may come, or at all events not to do good in such a manner that evil is sure to come, and that to innocent and helpless ones. It might not be difficult to win assent for the proposition that, all things considered, monogamy is the ideal of society even apart from specific Christian notions. Yet, as the merest matter of fact, that has not been the ideal, say, of Chinese society. The home has existed for a large part of Chinese society upon the contrary assumption. There are few countries in the world in which the home has played a larger part than in China. There are few countries, possibly there is no country in the world, in which the family may be said to be more really the basis of the social order. There are few

social systems in the world in which women have, within limitations, a more defined position and, particularly the older women, mothers and grandmothers, have immemorially exerted a greater influence. Despite dreadful things which one hears concerning the mortality among children, there are few countries in the world in which the bearing and rearing of children is looked upon more generally from the point of view both of duty and of privilege and few in which the love of little children is more in evidence. One realizes that in touching this general subject he has touched the plague spot of the human race. At all events one who has lived to maturity in Europe or America can but have his moments of doubt whether a society like our own, which is theoretically monogamous and supposedly under the influence of Christian ideals, has much to boast of. If he is candid it will not be easy to reply when the Oriental tells him that the same things which exist in his land measurably acknowledged and provided for, exist in ours with the additional horror that they are not acknowledged and not provided for. There may be no doubt whatever as to the ideal, but the question is, how to deal with the facts, how to get from one system to the other without temporarily making matters worse rather than better or, to put it more pungently still, how to make the ideal of one man and one woman prevail among these peoples, not merely as well as it prevails among us, but much better. Time and economic changes are bound to have the greatest effect upon the patriarchal system and upon the customs concerning marriage, but particularly upon the customs concerning very early marriage, in China, in India and elsewhere in the East. These are changes in which the foreigner can hardly do more than point the way. They are changes which only the man of the race instinct and sympathy can work out.

It will be interesting to see whether the Chinese government and society will be more successful in enforcing a theoretically absolute prohibition of opium than the American government and public sentiment has ever been in the statutory prohibition of alcoholic drink. The English-speaking missionaries' protest against opium has hitherto been somewhat impaired in value by the fact that, as the

Chinese cannot forget, the English had much to do with the bringing of opium into the land. The matter has gone far beyond a mere protest however sincere. The vice is so absolutely ruinous, the havoc it works so dreadful, that the Chinese people may be said to have risen against it in their might. The fact that theoretically at least the state will employ no man who is addicted to the opium habit must have weight. The fact that families and guilds inflict punishment and even death, in a way of which the government takes no cognizance, upon members who become obnoxious, makes the way of the transgressor hard, if his family come to think that he is wasting family property or if his guild esteems that he is impairing its good name. The result of this is that drastic prohibitory measures which have been adopted are, on the whole, much more likely to be enforced in China than similar measures would be with us. In the last days of the Empire and, still more, since the establishment of the Republic, we witness efforts on the part of the Chinese themselves to stamp out the production, the sale and the use of opium, which are without parallel in the history of any nation. Legislation is of the most drastic sort. It would certainly be regarded as sumptuary legislation in Europe. Such laws could hardly be executed in America. Even in China their execution seemed, at the first, improbable because of their extreme severity. We are at a loss whether most to wonder at the serious resolve of the people as a whole, or at the submissiveness of culprits to that which we should regard as an intolerable invasion of personal liberty. Punishments extend to confiscation of property, to disqualification for every post of public service and even to death itself. The effort is an agonizing one. The intent is to rid the country of this secret of poverty and degradation. Growers of opium have been ruined. Large numbers of the population are ready and anxious to give information against transgressors. Sellers are confronted with the alternative of burning their stock and implements in the presence of the officers of the law, or else of having their establishments burned over their heads by mobs with which the authorities will not interfere. A curious mixture of law and lawlessness often confronts one

in China. The one thing which is certain is that the government will have popular support in anything which it does against opium. The Chinese have not arrived to that pitch of sentimentality which among us regards the seller as a criminal and the buyer as a mere victim. Victim he often is, diseased he rapidly becomes. The Chinese however mete out to him his share in the responsibility for a transaction which, after all, involves two persons. They pursue remorselessly habitual users of the drug, from the lowest to the very highest in society, with also the corrupters of youth and of women by aid of the drug. No one doubts that the evils of gambling and prostitution, which are immemorial and would be sufficiently large in any case, have been greatly increased within the nineteenth century. Nor can one doubt that, in certain districts and in certain strata of society, there has been grave physical deterioration of the people, as well as injury to their mental powers. The very earliest stages of the European war furnished material for profound reflection upon the general question which is here involved. Russia was a country in which intemperance had assumed very grave proportions and in which a very considerable portion of the national revenue was drawn from a taxation of the manufacture of and the trade in spirits. Yet Russia signalized its entrance upon the great struggle by a prohibition of the use of alcohol throughout the length and breadth of the land, which was almost absolute and which was apparently vigorously enforced. If one is disposed to ascribe this result to the powers of an absolute government, what are we to say to the case of France? For France is one of the freest countries in the world. In France too in more recent years the consumption of the more injurious forms of alcoholic liquors had increased in portentous fashion. In France too there has been since the beginning of the war almost entire prohibition of the traffic in and consumption of liquors of the more injurious sort. In England, on the other hand, the national legislation did not at first care to touch in very serious fashion this evil which was yet as notorious in Great Britain as in any nation in the world. Changes came at first slowly, but were later very effective.

It is but fair to say that the attitude of the nation upon conscription is to be compared. Men dimly feel that something more than the concrete matters affected, either drink or conscription, is at stake. Men hesitate to fight the battle of liberty by infringing liberty in any measure greater than that which proves absolutely necessary. War-time prohibition would be easily conceivable in the United States. Upon that the demand for permanent prohibition would certainly follow.

We cannot speak even of these few points in the moral life of the East without being impressed anew with the extraordinary parity of movement which is displayed in all the nations of the earth in our time. The diminution in the consumption of opium in China has been attended by an increase in the use of alcoholic drinks by the Chinese and also, it may be noted in passing, by a very large increase in the use of tobacco. This latter has been introduced into China on a vast scale and at lowest prices, it has even been given away by American firms, in the effort to establish their trade. Conversely there is no question that the use of opium and of drugs is increasing in the United States in deplorable fashion. The problems of the world are the same problems everywhere. The vices and crimes which are rampant in Christendom, the cynical indifference to all higher considerations manifest in times of peace, the atrocities which have made the very phrase civilized warfare a mockery, leave us verily little cause to malign the Orient. They reveal in startling fashion how thin is the veneer of civilization and how far Christendom is from being Christianized, despite all the centuries during which a part of its people have professed the faith of the Nazarene. A certain general influence of Christianity upon their civilization, which is by no means to be ignored or minimized, gives the nations of the West a certain vague right to be called in the aggregate Christendom. At all events, if these nations are to be spoken of in terms of any faith whatsoever, the Christian is the only faith which has attained such proportions in them as to be considered. Yet even an Oriental who has never been outside of one of the old treaty ports knows the difference between a

Christian and one who merely comes from Christendom. In every nation in Christendom there is a considerable portion of the population which does not so much as profess allegiance, even in name, to the faith of Christ. This is not because they own allegiance to some other religion. It is because they acknowledge allegiance to none. There is furthermore a very considerable element of those who profess the faith of Christ, but they do this merely in name. And finally, no one would admit more sincerely than the truest Christians themselves, that many, even of those with whom the confession of Christ is by no means a mere confession, fall lamentably short of the ideal which their faith enshrines and bring reproach at times upon the cause which yet in heart they honour above all things besides. The humility and contrition of this last class besides being, upon occasion, the most immediate homage they could render to the truth, has been described by their own Lord and Master as the secret of the renewal of their spiritual power. The lapses of the latter class and the existence of the first two groups must however always be taken into account when one is tempted to enter upon a general indictment of Christendom. How Christian is Christendom? That is the question to which we are often forced to recur, never more fatefully than in the last few months. It may indeed be the very gist of our offending and the deepest cause of our repentance, both before God and man, that Christendom is not more Christian than it is. At all events, however, we are not, as Christians, in the least committed to defending anything, either within Christendom or in the conduct of inhabitants of Christendom toward other nations, for which there can be in Christ's light no defence.

Furthermore it must be regarded as an evidence of the progress of humanity and it is only fair to say that it is one of the trophies of the spread of real Christianity, that this distinction between real religion and the mere form of it, is to the generality of men in Christendom entirely evident. This has by no means always been the case. Time was when even in Christendom if a man had been asked, "Are you a Christian?" he might have answered

testily: "Do you think I am a pagan?" In those days it was not recognized that the real paganism is not the worshipping of idols, as it was called. The real paganism is the worshipping of one's self and the forces of an evil world, either with or without the aid of wooden idols or, for that matter, either with or without the aid of dogmas and sacraments conventionally related to an alleged faith in Christ. Now it is recognized that the being a Christian is a matter of an inner moral and spiritual experience. It is a real attempt to fashion all of life according to certain ideal standards. With the clear emergence of this conception of the nature of religion has come the recognition that there are many men and women in Christendom who do not for a moment profess to follow these standards. Besides, there are many more who merely profess to follow it. Now this is a great gain. It is a gain which more than offsets some aspects of the loss of prestige on the part of the church which is sometimes bewailed and throws for the thoughtful a new light on church statistics. It is not certain that there are more heathen within Christendom than there have been at any previous time. There are however more heathen who proclaim themselves to be such and whom the right-minded recognize as such without any proclamation. This we repeat is a great gain. It is in line with Christ's own insistence upon the spiritual and ethical nature of religion, as distinguished from ceremonial or dogma, and again, as distinguished from purely economic and reformatory enthusiasm. It is probable that the constituency of our middle category, that of those who profess religion without possessing it, has in Christendom in modern times very greatly diminished. This also is a great gain. There is less object in hypocrisy now than there was in the days when religion was popular. There is also less tolerance for the hypocritical, or even for those who, without being hypocritical, are merely conventional. The number of those who rejoice to discard and despise all convention is much increased. On the whole, men are more likely, in our day, to conceal and under-estimate the religion that they have than to feign that which they have not. A man who in our

day really has no religion is far more likely than ever before to find it out and frankly to join the company of those who profess none. One who utters a clear word like this as to the actual state of the case with Christianity in Christendom utters it with joy. He feels that we are being delivered from sham and subterfuge, that we cherish no illusions and ask others to cherish none. We repeat that this clarification of the mind of Christendom as to the real nature of Christianity and the real issue which is at stake in our efforts on its behalf, both at home and abroad, is not the least of the gains which we have to record in our century. It is not the least of the fitnesses, of which we need all that we can honestly find, as we try to bring the knowledge and spirit of Christianity to the non-Christian world.

Now it is interesting to note that this same thing is happening to non-Christian faiths in non-Christian lands. Time was when to live, or at least to live in honour, in a Mohammedan land it was practically necessary to be a Mohammedan. That is not to say that all who professed Mohammedanism lived up to the inner spirit of Mohammedanism. That was probably no more true in Islam than in Christendom. But at least, all who were not practically interned in the little Christian or Jewish communities, professed the dogmas of Mohammedanism and observed its ordinary practices. In the sense in which we are speaking the Mohammedan world was a world of Mohammedans. The Ottoman government ever since the conquest has dealt with its subject populations on the basis of their religious affinities. Jews were all Jews and Christians all Christians. Not only did the government deal with none who professed no religion, but this state of things had its part in bringing about that there were practically none who professed no religion. Time was when there were exceedingly few in Japan and almost none in India who professed no religion. Now there are in both lands many who profess none. This is in reality not because the professing of religion has come to mean less, but because religion has come to mean more. They recognize it as meaning something which now, in the contagion of modern influences in the world, they for themselves do not mean.

They are not alone nowadays in professing that they do not mean it. It is not merely that this contagion has spread from the West. Like causes produce this same situation in both East and West. In the Orient, no long time ago, there were practically no men who took the absolutely secular view or, at least, who understood themselves and wished to be understood as taking that view. Now there are many. This has its dark side. It has its bright side as well. The discipline which religion may have exerted upon men, so to say externally, falls away in this process. Certain universal assumptions and practices, which had, for the most part, not been much thought about, fall away. On the other hand the realization of the true nature of religion, and the purpose of an intenser application of religion to life, is apparently inseparable from this process. The Buddhist communities are made purer by it. Mohammedanism burns with a brighter enthusiasm because of it. From this point of view what is often deplored as a disintegration of religions, may be pointed to as one of the conditions and concomitants of their revival. The exigencies of life will show to nations, as they show to individuals, that they cannot long and cannot well live without religion. Moralities are likely to fade away without transcendent ideals and spiritual power. Men cannot live without God. The withdrawal from God is frequently the means of the opening of men's eyes and of inclining their hearts to the return to God. Heretofore the Christian movement in non-Christian lands has been essentially a spiritual movement. It has lacked background in traditions and institutions, in civilization as a whole, the background which it had at home and which, as we have just seen, is sometimes disadvantageous to it in its home. The Christian movement has been face to face, in these new lands, with religions which had all these immediate advantages. They were intrenched in custom, interwoven with civilization and glorified by tradition. Now in these lands also civilization is changing, institutions are assailed, traditions thrown to the winds. Now in those lands also, in this amazing world movement which we contemplate, the indigenous religions are to some extent losing their extraneous

advantages. They too are coming gradually to the same kind of clarification, as spiritual magnitudes, which we have spoken of in our own case. They too are suffering the same loss of prestige and artificial significance which we have suffered. They too are certain to gain something of that which we are gaining by this same process. There are now many intelligent men in China who do not confess Buddhism or Confucianism. To those who do confess them they must mean something. The point which is here to be emphasized is that in these lands the indigenous religions and the Christian religion are now all coming to the same level of apprehension and of spiritual endeavour. In the times of stress which are coming on, the religions which can meet the spiritual needs of men in these lands will be their religions. The others will fade away. There is a free field and a fair chance in a sense which has never been true before. The extraneous factors which, both there and here, have counted so much, either for or against religion, are now diminished and, what is more important, they are recognized as extraneous. This freedom of access for the spirit of Christianity to the life of these peoples is all that we can desire.

All that we have said in these lectures however makes plain, and this for reasons which have been illuminated from many different sides, that Christianity will never take the highest place in the life of these various nations save as vitally transformed by the spirit of the peoples themselves. The tragic confessions which we have just made about the effects of Christianity in Christendom, or rather its huge failure of effect, warn us against expecting too great things in the Christianization of the life of all the nations all at once. Our confessions bring home to us how slow the process has been among ourselves and how much is still unachieved. It is conceivable that other nations will make more rapid progress toward Christianization of life than we have done. Perhaps the world as a whole will make more rapid progress, in this as in other respects, now that it is one world, than it has made thus far, while the different races worked in their isolation each at its own task. There are signs of such acceleration of the world movement in

some departments of life. This is true in commerce. Perhaps it is true in education. There is no inherent reason why it should not be true in religion. It is by the zeal of Christian men and women in all lands that this issue can be brought to pass. It is necessary that Christians, both in the lands which we have called foreign missionary lands, and in our own countries as well, should realize before all things the spiritual nature of Christianity. Equally it is necessary that we realize that this spirit which Christianity is, the spirit of Jesus, must be applied to every problem in life and illustrated in every work and purpose of men. It is advisable that we attempt nothing more than this. It is necessary that we be content with nothing less. The vastness of the work commands our patience and our faith. It is something if in these lectures we have been enabled in any measure to rid ourselves of provincialism, of prejudice and fear. It is something if we have been able to see the problem clearly and to see it whole. It is something if we have drawn from the great movement which we have been considering renewal of our reverence for all humanity, of our faith in and love for men, of our loyalty to Christ and our confidence in God.

If one ever has moments of misgiving about the working out, in the hands of the peoples of these national churches, of a problem so complex, and into the solution of which already so much that is precious has been poured, it may be well to recall an observation which every thoughtful man must have made many times concerning the propagation of religion in his own land. This observation is profoundly true in the missionary world as well. There must have been times in the experience of every one of us when, if we had listened only to the form of the statement of faith inculcated and the type of doctrine advanced, if we saw only how the minds of zealous persons fix upon some rite or ceremony and insist upon some small detail in the regulation of life, we should have been profoundly discouraged. We realize however that these are not the only sources of influence of the man who is in the pulpit or of the institution which we call the church. They are not the main sources. It is possible that they are not the

sources of his influence at all. It is possible that they are minus quantities and distinct deductions from that influence. We perceive the fortitude and patience, the peace and love which average men and women show, the fidelity and courage, the cheer and hope, the purity and unselfishness, the devotion to ideals, the solicitude for others, which their life reveals. We perceive that these are not only the true fruit of the gospel, but they are the real working power of the gospel. It is these which undo a large part of the harm which dogma or ritual or narrow and mistaken practices exert. It is these which exert an influence which all the narrowness and inadequacies alluded to are not able to destroy. These things are true at home, as every one must have observed. They are even more true abroad because they are the qualities which are universally understood. They are felt and do not need to be understood. Language and race differences may make the theoretical propositions which the missionary of the new faith brings, and the newly trained native preacher sets forth, most difficult. They may make his rites impossibly remote. But character commands unfailingly respect and reverence. It leaves an impression that can never be effaced. Far more than we realize it is at this level of the Christian character, it is by this possession of the Christian character, that the Christian propaganda has taken place and is now taking place. We wonder at the apparent adoption, on the part of Chinese or Japanese, of forms of thought and action most widely different from those instinctive with these peoples. It is not that this adoption of foreign forms explains the assimilation of the peoples to the Christian ideal of character. Precisely the reverse is true. It is that the zeal and desire to be conformed to the type of character which is seen in real Christian man, carries along with it, for a time, customs and forms of speech which have been associated with that moral and spiritual influence. These customs and forms of speech will however be dropped off again as easily as they were taken on, in the working out of the Christian character of the Chinese, of the Japanese and of the Indians themselves. By this absolutely natural and spiritual process, at the level of the Christian character,

an oriental Christianity will arise and the specific occidental form by which this great transmission of life was mediated will disappear. "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone," said the Master, when balked of a foreign mission which there is every reason to suppose he would have been glad to undertake. "But if it die, it shall bear much fruit." "He must increase, but I must decrease," said John the Baptist, as he thought of the larger work of the Messiah in the world. He said of himself that he was but a voice. He prepared the way. The Christians in the Orient for whom Christians in the Occident have been allowed in God's good grace the privilege of working—they must increase. We must decrease. This may well be the last word of those who in these quiet hours, in this privileged place, have sought to think as Christians on the destiny of Christ's cause and kingdom among the nations of mankind.

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